

FOIPA COVER SHEET

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
AND  
PRIVACY ACTS**

**SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO)**

**BLACK EXTREMIST**

**100-448006**

**SECTION 24**



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

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FBI

Date: 1/19/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209)  
SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RM

ReBuairtel to Atlanta dated 12/31/70.

Referenced airtel instructed Chicago, along with other offices, to prepare a letter to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, from a member of the Young Lords.

The following is the proposed letter prepared by this office:

WE WENT TO THE REVOLUTIONARY CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION IN WASHINGTON TO HELP WRITE A NEW CONSTITUTION BECAUSE THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION IS AN ACCUMULATION OF LAWS THAT DEPRIVE POOR PEOPLE OF ITS BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS. UNDER THE CONSTITUTION WE'RE BEEN LYNCHED IN TEXAS AND CALIFORNIA; MURDERED IN COLD BLOOD IN THE CELLS OF THE JAILS OF CHICAGO AND NEW YORK (AND THEN THEY SAY WE HUNG OURSELVES), WE'VE BEEN MADE AN AMERIKKAN COLONY IN PUERTO RICO AND EXPLOITED IN LATIN AMERIKKAN AND HERE IN AMERIKKA. WE NEED FOOD TO EAT, A PLACE TO SLEEP AND A DOCUMENT TO SERVE AS A GUIDELINE FOR THE ACTIONS OF ALL REVOLUTIONARY ORGANIZATIONS. WE NEED TO GIVE THE POWER TO THE PEOPLE.

BUT WHAT DO WE GET? A DISORGANIZED CONVENTION, APOLOGETIC SPEAKERS AND FLUNKYS WHO PUSH US AROUND. NO LEADERSHIP, NO IDEAS, NO NOTHING.

② - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago

JPM:pas  
(3)

REC-56

2176

Approved: CUB/AM Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS CAN JOIN TOGETHER OR ACT SEPARATELY, WITH OR WITHOUT TIES TO EACH OTHER. THE IMPORTANT FACT IS ACTION. THAT IS WHAT WILL AWAKEN REVOLUTIONARY ENERGY AMONG OUR PEOPLE. YOUR TALK IS NICE, BUT YOUR IDEAS AND ACTION IS NOTHING. YOU PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF THE OPPRESSOR BY ACCOMPLISHING NOTHING AND WASTING OUR TIME AND ENERGY.

THE PEOPLE ARE WAITING FOR THE LEADERS TO GIVE, BY THEIR EXAMPLE AND THEIR PRESENCE, THE BATTLE CRY.

YOU ARE GONE, THOSE YOU LEFT BEHIND HAVE BIG TITLES BUT CANNOT LEAD; CANNOT ORGANIZE, ARE AFRAID TO EVEN COME OUT AMONG THE PEOPLE. THE OPPRESSED OF AMERIKKA CANNOT WAIT. WE MUST MOVE ON WITHOUT YOU, TAKE THE VANGUARD AND GIVE THE BATTLE CRY.

LIBERATION OR DEATH.

JOSE A. MUNOZ  
YOUNG LORDS ORGANIZATION

Chicago feels members of the Young Lords Organization (YLO) would not be in a position to fix responsibility for the inept handling of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPCC) on HUEY P. NEWTON, or any specific individual. The above letter, in criticizing the handling of the RPCC, allows ELDRIDGE CLEAVER to fix the blame where he sees fit.

The YLO is a Spanish-American group, therefore could not be critical of the Black Panther Party (BPP) for accepting white support. YLO can criticize CLEAVER's presence in Algeria at a time when leaders are needed here and indicate that the BPP's lack of leadership is resulting in the loss of non-black support.

# ROUTED IN ENVELOPE

1/27/71

*RA*  
**Airtel**

**To: SACs, Chicago (157-2209)  
San Francisco (157-601) (Enclosure)**  
**From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2176**

**COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS**

**ReCGairtel 1/19/71.**

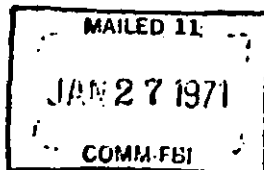
**One copy of referenced airtel is enclosed for  
information of San Francisco.**

**Chicago is authorized to send the fictitiously  
signed letter to Eldridge Cleaver as proposed in referenced  
airtel.**

**Insure that this mailing cannot be traced to the  
Bureau.**

**Recipients advise the Bureau of any results of  
this counterintelligence activity.**

*WJ*  
**RNB:pjc  
(8)**



*Jup*  
**NOTE:**

*Reit*  
**Bureau instructed various offices to prepare fictitious  
letters to Eldridge Cleaver, BPP Minister of Information in  
Algeria, purported to be from disgruntled members of organizations  
who attended BPP Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention,  
11/17-19/70. Purpose is to provoke Cleaver into questioning  
present BPP leadership. Chicago proposed letter purported to be  
from Young Lords, which is approved.**

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

**97 FEB 1 1971**

**MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐**

*WJ* *AS* *Adm* *1/27/71*  
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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
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OTHERWISE.**

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, NEW ORLEANS (105-3138) (P)

SUBJECT: COLLEGE PRO-RACIAL EXTREMISTS

DATE: 1/25/71

Re Bureau airtel to Atlanta, dated 1/13/71.

Copies of the Howard University student newspaper article were mailed anonymously by New Orleans to the following:

Howard University  
Georgetown University  
Dillard University  
Grambling College  
Times-Picayune Newspaper  
Louisiana Weekly Newspaper  
St. Bernard News  
Metairie Daily Newspaper  
East Baton Rouge Newspaper

REC-83

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RACIAL INT. SECT.

② - Bureau  
2 - 5540-4.19/1  
D  
(4)

F B I

Date: 1/20/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (B)  
SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

Contained herein is a draft of a letter, which NY proposes should be sent to the "Letters to the Editor" department of "The New York Daily News", "The New York Post", and "The New York Times". All of these newspapers recently have featured editorials concerning the actions of the Jewish Defense League.

It is hoped that if this letter did receive publication or at least was read by an employee of the aforementioned publications it would generate some derogatory comment on the continuing propensity for violence evinced by the Black Panther Party (BPP).

New York feels even if the above stated purposes of the letter failed completely the letter could be mailed to the BPP office in NYC as well as to selected BPP members and supporters in the NYC area, with the aim of causing some curiosity as to the various "fund raising prospects" mentioned in the proposed letter.

This proposal is submitted as part of the continuing participation in Counterintelligence program by NY. If the proposed letter is approved it would be prepared with the established safeguards of all Counterintelligence Communications considered.

2- Bureau (RM)  
1- New York (43)

JLL:tf

1- Supv. #43

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OTHERWISE.

REC 19

100-448006-2178

JAN 21 1971

INTELL. SECT.

Approved: CFM/VN  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

NY 100-161140

No action on this matter will be taken without prior Bureau approval.

The proposed letter is as follows:

"To the Editor:

"Your recent editorials condemning the actions of the Jewish Defense League in their self-admitted attempts to intimidate Soviet officials residing in the United States as well as your castigation of their alleged participation in the bombings of Soviet Diplomatic and commercial property around the world contain points well taken.

"Certainly no one can condone the vicious acts of extremists but it appears your editorial policy stops short of condemning those extremists who are Black, college affiliated or drug oriented.

"Not a day goes by in which I do not receive a personal threat from a self-identified Black Panther that my store will be destroyed or my person injured if I do not contribute money to the "Black Panther Defense Fund" or the "Panther College Fund", etc. Every day there seems to be a new Panther fund raising project.

"Some one must speak for the people of New York City. If the editorialists are selective or choosey in their castigation of the doers of viciousness and violence then who will speak for the people.

"Nehemiah Gettlesohn  
New York City"



# ROUTE ENVELOPE

1/28/71

airtel

115

To: SAC, New York (100-161140)

REC 19

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2178

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

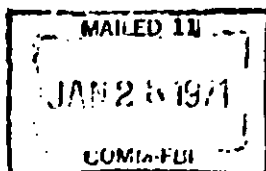
ReNYairtel 1/20/71.

Provided the signature of the letter proposed for mailing by your office is that of a fictitious individual, the counterintelligence proposal submitted by referenced airtel is approved.

Insure stationery and mailing procedures involved are not traceable to this Bureau.

Promptly advise of positive counterintelligence benefits derived from this technique.

PEN:cb  
(7)



NOTE:

New York has proposed mailing a letter to the "Letters to the Editors" Departments of three New York City newspapers all of whom have featured editorials concerning actions of the Jewish Defense League (JDL) in protesting treatment of Jews in the Soviet Union. The letter will also be mailed to New York Black Panther Party (BPP) headquarters and various BPP members, and supporters castigating the local news media for the condemnation of actions of the JDL while ignoring black extremist activities and pointing out specific use of threats employed by the BPP to obtain funds for its operations from the signer. This is being approved contingent on New York's use of a fictitious name in signing the letter involved, to insure the safety of an actual person is not placed in jeopardy.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

97 FEB 5 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐  
OTL:JCF

POSTAL ENVELOPE

1/28/71

Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SACs, Boston  
Los Angeles  
New York  
San Francisco

*Counterintelligence Project - Black Extremists*

From: Director, FBI

① COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

*Counterintelligence Project - Black Nationalist*

*ReSftel to Bureau and recipient offices 1/25/71*  
captioned "BPP - Disciplinary Action, RM."

In addition to disciplinary action outlined in  
retel, latest issue of BPP newspaper (1/23/71) indicates  
BPP leader Huey P. Newton also expelled Panther [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] his companions and denounced [REDACTED]  
Also recently suspended by Newton were Panthers [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] (since reinstated) and [REDACTED]

It appears that Newton responds violently to any  
question of his actions or policies or reluctance to do his  
bidding. He obviously responds hastily without getting all  
the facts or consulting with others.

The Bureau feels that this near hysterical reaction  
by the egotistical Newton is triggered by any criticism of  
his activity, policies or leadership qualities and some of  
this criticism undoubtedly is result of our counterintelligence  
projects now in operation.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Sivars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ANB:drl  
(14)

MAILED 22  
JAN 29 1971  
COMM-FBI

EX-115/21 - 478707-2177  
REQ. 11  
13 JAN 29 1971

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

97 FEB 4 1971

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MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to Boston et al  
Re: COINTELPRO - Black Extremists

The present chaotic situation within the BPP must be exploited and recipients must maintain the present high level of counterintelligence activity. You should each give this matter priority attention and immediately furnish Bureau recommendations for further counterintelligence activity designed to further aggravate the dissension within BPP leadership and to fan the apparent distrust by Newton of anyone who questions his wishes.

NOTE:

Huey P. Newton has recently exhibited paranoid-like reactions to anyone who questioned his orders, policies, actions or otherwise displeases him. His Hitler-like hysterical reaction, which has very likely been aggravated by our present counterintelligence activity, has resulted in a number of suspensions of loyal BPP workers. It appears Newton may be on the brink of mental collapse and we must intensify our counterintelligence.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/2/71

Airtel

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. J. J. Casper

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SACs, Albany  
Atlanta  
Baltimore  
Boston  
Charlotte  
Chicago  
Cincinnati  
Cleveland  
Columbia  
Dallas  
Detroit  
Indianapolis  
Las Vegas  
Los Angeles  
Newark

New Haven  
New Orleans  
New York  
Philadelphia  
Pittsburgh  
Portland  
Richmond  
Sacramento  
San Francisco  
Savannah  
Seattle  
Springfield  
Tampa  
WFO

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - DISSENSION

RACIAL MATTERS

FEB 2 1971

COMM-FBI

Increasing evidence points to rising dissension within BPP causing serious morale problem and strained relationship among Panther hierarchy. Primary cause of these internal problems appears to be dictatorial, irrational and capricious conduct of Huey P. Newton. His extreme sensitivity to any criticism, jealousy of other leaders and belief he is some form of deity are causing severe problems within the group. Newton's relationship with Cleaver and other top leaders is strained. He has recently expelled or disciplined several dedicated Panthers including

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Coyne \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ABF:drl  
(69)

REC 8 100-448006  
EY-11  
SEE NOTE PAGE THREE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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OTHERWISE

97 FEB 1 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEB 3 1971

WBS  
10

Airtel to Albany et al

Re: COINTELPRO - Black Panther Party (BPP) - Dissension  
100-448006

[REDACTED] and Newton's  
[REDACTED] and companions who were involved  
in BPP underground operation (see 1/23/71 edition of  
"The Black Panther"); and the "New York 21" who were a  
leading cause celebre of Pantherism.

This dissension coupled with financial difficulties offers an exceptional opportunity to further disrupt, aggravate and possibly neutralize this organization through counterintelligence. In light of above developments this program has been intensified by selected offices and should be further expanded to increase measurably the pressure on the BPP and its leaders.

San Francisco and New York are already involved in counterintelligence actions and should continue to be alert for further opportunities. All other recipients should immediately devise at least two counterintelligence proposals and submit same to Bureau by 2/10/71. First proposal should be aimed strictly at creating dissension within the local branch. Second proposal should be aimed at creating dissension or problems between local branch and/or its leaders and BPP national headquarters. Submit each proposal in a separate airtel referencing this communication and in first paragraph specifically indicate whether proposal aimed at local dissension or national dissension.

In order for these proposals to be effective it is imperative that a close analysis be made of weaknesses and problems within the local BPP branch and that all proposals submitted be imaginative and timely. No proposal should be implemented without specific Bureau approval.

Airtel to Albany et al  
Re: COINTELPRO - Black Panther Party (BPP) - Dissension  
100-448006

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. C. D. Brennan,  
dated 1/29/71, captioned as above, prepared by ABF:drl.

COINTELPRO is approved code name for Counterintelligence  
Program.

FBI

Date: 1/27/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (157-4690) (P)  
SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS - 11/11/70  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtels dated 11/10/70 and 12/28/70.

With reference to Bureau airtel dated 11/10/70, it is noted that anonymous mailings of the reproductions of a column written by VICTOR RIESEL regarding the BPP were mailed to the General Teamsters Local Number 528, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Delta Air Lines, Eastern Airlines and the Fraternal Order of Police, all Atlanta, Georgia, on 11/20/70. Atlanta has noted no response as a result of this action.

With regard to the referenced 12/28/70 airtel, the memorandum from [REDACTED] and the enclosure from the Black Panther paper were mailed to the individuals and Black Panther Party locations as recommended by New York letter dated 12/10/70, on 1/12/71, from Atlanta, Georgia. This memorandum was retyped by the Atlanta Office and copies of it, as well as the enclosure, were handled in a manner to preclude tracing of same to the Bureau.

Atlanta has received no information as to any results derived from the aforementioned action.

② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Atlanta  
REF:pab  
(4)

REC-54

2181

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OTHERWISE.

12 JAN 29 1971

RECEIVED  
FBI  
JAN 29 1971

58 FEB 3 1971

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

FBI

Date: 1/28/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)  
SUBJECT: COINTELPRO- BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS  
(OO: NEW YORK)

ReBuairtel to Atlanta, 12/31/70 and NY tel to Bureau,  
1/28/71.

Referenced airtel directed NY to prepare a proposed  
letter to be sent to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER signed by a fictitious  
member of an organization that attended the Revolutionary People's  
Constitutional Convention in Washington, D.C. in November, 1970.

The following is NY's proposed letter upon which no  
action will be taken without prior Bureau approval. It should  
be noted that instant proposal is also in line with suggestions  
set forth in referenced NY teletype.

"Brother Eldridge Cleaver  
Minister of Information in Exile  
Black Panther Party

"Brother Eldridge:

"I am a white college student who has dedicated a great  
deal of time and energy trying to be of some help to my Black  
Brothers in their attempt to free themselves from the yoke of  
Fascist Racism in Amerika.

2- Bureau (RM)  
1- New York (43)

REC 85

EX-111

JLL:tf

(4)  
1- Supv. #43

12 JAN 29 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_



NY 100-161140

"Let me tell you what has happened to our brothers in the Party since you have left and that 'Pretty Nigger Newton' in his funky clothes has been running things.

"In December of last year, as you know, the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention was held in Washington, D.C. and what a bunch of [redacted] that turned out to be.

"As soon as the word 'Convention' or 'Revolutionary meeting' is mentioned 'Newton's Panthers' get on the phone, start rapping about how to dress, what kind of cars to rent and how much artillery to carry. (You know, Brother Eldridge, that Brother Newton feels there's no 'bad nigger' image unless you pack a gun).

"When the NY Panthers finally did get around to attending that disaster held in Washington, it was the most [redacted] up mess you could ever see. It was about 80% honkies [redacted] about "soulful" dancing, singing and poetry as well as rapping about their various 'ideologies'.

"Brother Eldridge, to me as an outsider but one who believes in the revolution, it seems that the Panthers need a leader in Amerika who will bring the Party back to the people.

"Brother Newton has failed you and the Party. The Panthers do not need a 'day time revolutionary, a night time party goer and African fashion model as a leader'. They need the leadership which only you can supply.

"All Power to the People,

Algonquin J. Fuller,  
Youth Against War and Fascism,  
New York, New York"

2/3/71

EX-111  
Airtel  
100-  
REC B5

To: SACs, New York (100-161140)  
San Francisco (157-601) (Enclosure)

From: Director, FBI

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

ReNYairtel to Director, 1/28/71.

One copy of referenced airtel is enclosed for information of San Francisco.

New York is authorized to send the fictitiously signed letter to Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party (BPP) Minister of Information in Algeria, as proposed in referenced airtel.

You must insure that this mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau.

New York and San Francisco advise the Bureau of any results of this counterintelligence activity.

RNB:pjc  
(7)

NOTE:

New York proposed fictitious letter to Eldridge Cleaver from a New York organization that attended the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPCC), Washington, D. C., November, 1970, critical of BPP leader Huey P. Newton's inept handling of the RPCC. Purpose is to provoke Cleaver into continuing his questioning of Newton's leadership of BPP.

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Hennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Walters \_\_\_\_\_
- Swann \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 4  
COMM-FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

97 FEB 8 1971

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

1/29/71

**AIRTEL**

**TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)**

**FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)**

**SUBJECT: COINTEL PROGRAM  
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)**

Enclosed herewith is one Xerox copy of an article entitled "Panthers New Financing" by Syndicated Columnists RAWLAND EVANS and ROBERT NOVAK, which appeared in the Newark, NJ "Evening News", 1/28/71.

The gist of the above described article concerns the attempts of DAVID LUBBELL, [REDACTED] to set up a future financial basis for the operations of the BPP. This article specifically identifies LUBBELL as a organizer for the CPUSA as well as being a member of a CP front group.

NY suggests that this article should be reproduced at New York and anonymously mailed to selected individuals and organizations within the New York area who would react with disfavor at an identified Communist participating in the operations of a Black Militant group.

Known members of the New Left Movement identified Black Nationalists, Church, Civil and Professional groups would be the type of individuals and organizations the enclosure would be mailed to.

No actions on this matter will be taken without prior Bureau approval.

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York

JLL:ems  
(4)

# Panthers' New Financing

By ROWLAND EVANS and  
ROBERT NYAK

Washington

The Black Panther party, its treasury no longer filled by conscience-stricken white liberals, is now turning to two dramatically different fund-raising techniques: The big-time college lecture circuit and a swelling campaign of burglaries by the party's new underground organization.

Although Black Panther leaders have publicly denounced criminal activity, Panther-watchers are convinced of the party's recidivism toward its former policy of "expropriating" funds through burglary in the old Bolshevik tradition. The new Panther underground, not regular party chapters, has been given this task.

While in overall command of these underground activities, Panther leader Huey P. Newton is also launching a new lecture tour aimed at radical white students at prestigious colleges and universities. The Panthers, not very impressive in organizing such activities, have taken on an old-line Communist with experience in student-organizing to run Newton's tour.

These two wildly opposed methods of fund-raising reflect the two faces of Black Pantherism. Although at heart a revolutionary organization of 1,000 armed black militants with tremendous appeal among jobless and nihilistic Negro slum youth, the Panthers have always relied for support from well-meaning but gullible white liberals, a trend that reached its peak late in 1969 in the ludicrous session with Black Panthers in Leonard

Bernstein's Manhattan apartment.

In fact, the decline in white liberal support that followed the Bernstein fiasco has coincided with the party's return to violent rhetoric. "We have to begin to draw pictures that will make people go out and kill pigs (police)," says Emory Douglas, Panther minister of culture, in a recent edition of the party newspaper.

Nor is this mere rhetoric. Panther lawlessness has been rising, both in attacks on police and with the Panther underground resorting to crime to support its financial requirements. In the past four months, party members have been arrested and charged with 15 separate robberies and burglaries across the country — in Charlotte, N.C., Cleveland, Memphis, Buffalo, Winston-Salem, N.C.,

Dallas, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Seattle and Toledo.

But those 15 occasions may only be the tip of the iceberg. Nobody knows how many Panther crimes in the same period have not resulted in arrests or how many other arrested suspects are in fact covert Panthers. That's because the Panthers, since Newton's release from prison six months ago, have been perfecting an underground organization functioning in isolated units of two and three.

In sharp counterpoint to this is Newton's new plan to cash in on the lucrative college lecture circuit after an unsuccessful tour last fall. Arrangements for the new tour are being handled by a new Black Panther front incorporated under New York law in September as Stronghold Consolidated Productions, Inc. Thus, a university can write a check for

a Newton lecture to a seemingly respectable front without the onus of a cancelled check transferring student activity funds to the Black Panthers.

Stronghold Consolidated's corporate headquarters is the law firm of Lubell, Lubell, Fine & Schaap at 183 Park Ave. in New York. Running the show is lawyer David G. Lubell, identified in sworn 1956 Congressional testimony as a Communist party organizer at Boston area colleges and since then active in the National Lawyers Guild, often cited as a Communist front.

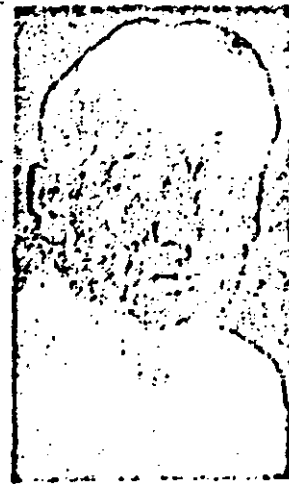
The present road show that Lubell is trying to book does not come cheap. A standard lecture fee for Newton is \$2,500, plus expenses for Newton and two Black Panther traveling companions, David Hilliard and Connie Matthews.

Apart from a date at Cuyahoga Community College in Cleveland, Newton's winter bookings are predominantly at white Eastern colleges: Princeton, Columbia and Syracuse. In addition, he will engage in a discussion early next month at Yale, where he also hopes to land a lecture. Surprisingly, Newton's ersatz Marxism and incoherent delivery in last fall's lectures have not greatly diminished his popularity on fashionable college campuses.

Yet, the \$2,500 lecture fee amid the halls of Ivy looks like the last vestige of the radical chic phenomenon which brightly blazed until the Leonard Bernstein affair. The lecture tour, therefore, may be only a temporary expedient. The future of the Panthers lies in its new underground organization in the inner city, where fund-raising is conducted through the barrel of a gun.



HUEY P. NEWTON  
Generalissimo in Charge



LEONARD BERNSTEIN  
Party's Turning Point

ENCLOSURE

100-44800-2183

FBI

Date: 1/29/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)  
SUBJECT: COINTEL PROGRAM  
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Enclosed herewith is one Xerox copy of an article entitled "Panthers New Financing" by Syndicated Columnists ROWLAND EVANS and ROBERT NOVAK, which appeared in the Newark, NJ "Evening News", 1/28/71.

The gist of the above described article concerns the attempts of DAVID LUBBELL, [REDACTED], to set up a [REDACTED] financial basis for the operations of the BPP. This article specifically identifies LUBBELL as a organizer for the CPUSA as well as being a member of a CP front group.

NY suggests that this article should be reproduced at New York and anonymously mailed to selected individuals and organizations within the New York area who would react with disfavor at an identified Communist participating in the operations of a Black Militant group.

Known members of the New Left Movement identified Black Nationalists, Church, Civil and Professional groups would be the type of individuals and organizations the enclosure would be mailed to.

No actions on this matter will be taken without prior Bureau approval.

2-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York

JLL:ems/ ENCLOSURE  
(4)

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OTHERWISE

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/3/71

Airtel

1 -  
1 -  
1 -

To: SAC, New York (100-161140)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) <sup>REC 85</sup> - 2183

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISM - 111  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurairtel 1/29/71.

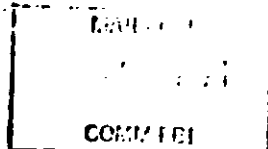
You are authorized to make anonymous mailings, as recommended in reairtel, of the article entitled "Panthers' New Financing." Insure items cannot be traced to Bureau and advise Bureau of any positive results achieved.

ERS:fb  
(6)

## NOTE:

Above article by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, which appeared in Newark, New Jersey, newspaper, refers in part to the Stronghold Consolidated Productions, Inc., as a new Black Panther Party (BPP) front. It identifies David Lubell, BPP attorney in New York City, as a former Communist Party organizer and head of the above corporation. New York proposes to mail copies of the article to New Left and Black Nationalist individuals and to church, civil and professional groups as these individuals and groups could react with disfavor at an identified communist heading an operation of a black militant group.

Tolson  
Sullivan  
Mohr  
Bishop  
Brennan, C.D.  
Callahan  
Casper  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Tavel  
Walters  
Soyars  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy



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97 FEB 8 1971  
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D JCE  
REC'D FBI

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*

20

NR 001 NH CODE

532PM URGENT 2/3/71 DAJ

TO DIRECTOR (105-165706-32)

SAN FRANCISCO

NEW YORK

FROM NEW HAVEN (100-19186) (P) 4P

BLACK PANTHER PARTY - PUBLIC APPEARANCES; RM - BPP;  
COINTELPRO.

SOURCE ADVISED THIS DATE THAT HUEY P. NEWTON, WHO WAS SCHEDULED TO APPEAR ON WNHCTV CHANNEL EIGHT, NEW HAVEN, CONN., CANCELLED HIS APPEARANCE AT THE LAST MOMENT. NEWTON WAS TO BE A GUEST ON THIS PROGRAM IN WHICH THE AUDIENCE TELEPHONES QUESTIONS TO THE GUEST. SOURCE FURTHER ADVISED THAT THIS PROGRAM NORMALLY LASTS ONE HOUR AND THAT THE CALLER REMAINS ANONYMOUS. NEWTON MAY, HOWEVER, APPEAR ON THIS PROGRAM IN THE FUTURE, POSSIBLY FRIDAY, FEBRUARY FIFTH NEXT. A SECOND SOURCE ADVISED THIS DATE THAT HUEY

END PAGE ONE

1 FEB 10 1971

NOT RECORDED  
42 FEB 16 1971

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61 FEB 18 1971

ORIGINAL FILED IN 11

21

PAGE TWO

NH (100-19186)

P. NEWTON HAS FAILED TO APPEAR ON TIME FOR ANY OF HIS ENGAGEMENTS IN NEW HAVEN. SOURCE STATED THAT ON JANUARY THIRTY LAST NEWTON WAS ONE AND A HALF HOURS LATE FOR HIS SPEECH AT LEE HIGH SCHOOL, AND ON JANUARY THIRTY FIRST LAST NEWTON WAS OVER TWO HOURS LATE FOR HIS SPEECH AT WOOLSEY HALL, YALE UNIV. IN ADDITION NEWTON WAS SCHEDULED FOR A SEMINAR FROM TEN A.M. TO ONE P.M., FEBRUARY TWO TO FOURTH NEXT, HOWEVER, HE FAILED TO ARRIVE ON TIME AND THE SEMINAR WAS DELAYED SEVERAL HOURS.

ADMINISTRATIVE: REFERENCE NEW HAVEN TELEPHONE CALL TO SANFRANCISCO AND BOSTON, FEBRUARY THIRD LAST. NEW HAVEN TELETYPES CAPTIONED, HUEY P. NEWTON DATED JANUARY THIRTY FIRST LAST AND FEBRUARY FIRST LAST.

FIRST [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] A DAILY TELEVISION SHOW WHICH IS SHOWN ON

[REDACTED] IN THE NEW HAVEN AREA. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] FURNISHED A

SPECIAL UNPUBLISHED TELEPHONE NUMBER, WHICH WOULD GUARANTEE ACCESS TO NEWTON DURING THIS LIVE TELEVISION SHOW, WITH AN EIGHT SECOND DELAY. THIS, THEREFORE, WOULD ALLOW A "CONTROLLED"

END PAGE TWO

22



PAGE THREE

NH (100-19186)

SITUATION IN ORDER THAT APPROPRIATE QUESTIONS MIGHT BE ASKED OF NEWTON.

SAN FRANCISCO IS REQUESTED TO GIVE CONSIDERATION TO APPROPRIATE QUESTIONS THAT MIGHT BE ASKED OF NEWTON IN ORDER TO EMBARRASS OR PUT HIM IN AN UNFAVORABLE LIGHT. THE BUREAU IS REQUESTED TO ADVISE NEW HAVEN IF THIS COUNTER INTELLIGENCE APPROACH MIGHT BE UTILIZED BY NEW HAVEN DURING NEWTON'S STAY HERE.

VARIOUS SOURCES FAMILIAR WITH BPP ACTIVITIES HAVE ADVISED THAT THOROUGH SEARCHED HAVE BEEN CONDUCTED ON ALL PERSONS ATTENDING NEWTON'S SPEECHES AND, THEREFORE, EFFORTS TO RECORD THESE SPEECHES WILL BE HAMPERED. NEW HAVEN WILL ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN RECORDINGS THROUGH ESTABLISHED NEWS MEDIA SOURCES WHO HAVE COOPERATED IN THE PAST WHEN THEY ARE AVAILABLE. IN ADDITION, NEW HAVEN WILL TARGET SOURCES TO ATTEND NEWTON'S SPEECHES IN ORDER THAT HIS STATEMENTS, WHICH ARE NORMALLY COVERED BY OPEN PRESS MIGHT BE SUBSTANTIATED. CONCERNING THREE DAY SEMINAR AT YALE UNIV., SOURCES WILL ATTEMPT TO DISCREETLY DETERMINE WHAT IS BEING SAID DURING THESE SEMINARS. IT APPEARS THAT THE RESULTS OF THIS SEMINAR

END PAGE THREE

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PAGE FOUR

NH (100-19186)

WILL BE PUBLISHED BY THE "YALE PRESS" IN A PAPERBACK EDITION,  
AND THAT NEWTON AND [REDACTED] WILL SPLIT THE PROCEEDS. ADDITIONAL  
INFORMATION CONCERNING THIS MATTER WILL BE FORTHCOMING. LHM  
WILL BE SUBMITTED.

END

PLB FBI WA

CLR

24

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 1 1971

WJM  
TELETYPE

NR 016-NY-CODE

7-40 PM URGENT 2-1-71 MJW

TO DIRECTOR (100-448006)

ATTN DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

FROM NEW YORK (100-161993)

Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan, C.	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - EXCLUSION, RACIAL MATTERS.

RE BUREAU TEL JANUARY TWENTY NINE LAST.

NYO IS OF THE OPINION THAT CONTEXT OF LETTER TO BE SENT TO ELDRIDGE CLEAVER BY NEW YORK PANTHER TWENTY ONE SHOULD CONTAIN THE FOLLOWING. BROTHER ELDRIDGE-- WE OF THE PANTHER TWENTY ONE, IN TRUE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT, EXPRESS OUR COMPLETE DISBELIEF OVER OUR EXCLUSION BY HUEY NEWTON. THIS ACTION IS VERY BEWILDERING TO US.

AS YOU ARE AWARE, WE OF THE PANTHER TWENTY ONE HAVE ALWAYS BEEN LOYAL TO THE PARTY AND CONTINUE TO FEEL A CLOSE ALLEGIANCE TO YOU AND THE IDEOLOGY OF THE PARTY WHICH HAS BEEN DEVELOPED MAINLY THROUGH YOUR EFFORTS. ST 101 REC-79 100-448006-2184

OUR TWENTY ONE MONTHS IN PRISON WOULD SEEM TO BE SOME MEASURE OF OUR LOYALTY AND DEDICATION TO THE PARTY. RIGHT NOW WE BEAR THE BRUNT OF THIS RACIST SOCIETY AS OBJECT LESSONS IN  
END PAGE ONE

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OTHERWISE.

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PAGE TWO

WHAT HAPPENS TO BAD NIGGERS WHILE HUEY SITS ON HIS THRONE AND SATISFIES HIS EVERY WHIM WITH THE BLOOD OF OUR BROTHERS.

WE HAVE NEVER NEGLECTED THE PARTY. ITS NEEDS WERE ALWAYS OUR NEEDS. WE WITNESSED THE FAILURE OF THE PARTY HEADQUARTERS TO ENGAGE IN ANY SUPPORT FOR THEIR BROTHERS AND INMATES INVOLVED IN THE PRISON INSURRECTION LAST SUMMER. WE KNOW THAT YOU HAVE NEVER LET US DOWN AND HAVE ALWAYS INSPIRED US THROUGH YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THE VANGUARD PARTY.

AS THE LEADING THEORITICIAN OF THE PARTY'S PHILOSOPHY AND AS BROTHER AMONG BROTHERS WE ASK YOU TO PLEAD OUR CASE WITH MINISTER HUEY. WE FEEL ~~HUEY~~ HUEY'S RECENT BEHAVIOR IS IRRATIONAL AND WILL ONLY FURTHER FACTIONALIZE AN ALREADY DISORGANIZED PARTY.

BROTHER HUEY PREACHES INTERCOMMUNALISM AMONG PEOPLE BUT EFFECTIVELY PREVENTS THIS PHILOSPHY TO HAVE AN EFFECT WITHIN THE PARTY.

END PAGE TWO

26

PAGE THREE--

IT IS PURE MEANINGLESS BS TO SUGGEST THAT WE HAVE EVER SOUGHT DIRECTION OR LEADERSHIP FROM THE WEATHERMEN OR ANY OTHER SO-CALLED REVOLUTIONARY GROUP.

THE PARTY CONTINUES TO BE OUR MENTOR. THE PANTHER TWENTY ONE WILL CONTINUE TO BE LOYAL. EXPLUSION CANNOT TURN OFF A STATE OF MIND. YOU ARE OUR REMAINING HOPE IN OUR STRUGGLE TO FIGHT OPPRESSION WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE PARTY.

YOUR PRESENCE IN BABYLON WOULD SETTLE THIS WHOLE MF SITUATION. AGAIN WE ASK YOUR HELP TO RESOLVE THIS EXPLUSION NONSENSE SO THAT WE CAN CONTINUE TO RELATE TO THE PEOPLE AND THE PARTY.

NEW YORK PANTHER TWENTY ONE.

SUBSEQUENT TO THE BUREAU'S APPROVAL OF THIS FORMAT, IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT THIS LETTER BE SENT TO CLEAVER FROM NYC ON FEB. FIVE NEXT AS THE BPP NEWSPAPER WILL BE ON THE STREETS THAT DATE. IT IS FELT THIS LETTER COULD FURTHER AGGRAVATE THE STRAINED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEWTON AND CLEAVER AND SUBSEQUENT TO THE BPP NEWSPAPER ISSUE OF FEB. SIX NEXT, NYO WILL SUBMIT RECOMMENDATIONS FOR BUREAU APPROVAL CONCERNING OTHER PROPOSED LETTERS TO CLEAVER FROM NEW YORK PANTHER TWENTY ONE.

E N D

HOLD

27

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/3/71

Airtel

To: SACs, New York (100-161993)  
San Francisco (157-601)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 2184

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
EXPULSIONS  
RACIAL MATTERS

ReNYtel to Bureau and San Francisco 2/1/71.

Bureau concurs generally with New York's proposed letter from "New York 21" to Eldridge Cleaver in Algeria. However, two changes are desired.

Paragraph five should be changed to read "As the leading theoretician of the party's philosophy and as brother among brothers, we urge you to make your influence felt. We think that The Rage is the only person strong enough to pull this factionalized party back together."

MAILED 6 Also the word "expulsion" should be deleted from the last paragraph.

COMM-FBI Bureau feels above changes necessary since purpose of letter is not to cause Cleaver to plead or reason with Newton but rather to cause as much dissension as possible within BPP, particularly between Newton and Cleaver.

New York is authorized to send the letter proposed in referenced teletype to Cleaver with the above changes. Bureau agrees that the letter should be sent 24 to 48 hours after "The Black Panther" newspaper reporting the expulsion of the "New York 21" reaches the streets. If such an article does not appear in "The Black Panther," mailing of the letter should be held in abeyance and additional recommendations made in that regard.

RNB:pjc  
(7)

97 FEB 10 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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SEE NOTE ON PAGE TWO

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**Airtel to New York and San Francisco**  
**Re: Cointelpro - Black Panther Party (BPP)**  
**Expulsion**  
**100-448006**

New York should insure that this mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau, and New York and San Francisco advise the Bureau of any results of the counterintelligence activity.

**NOTE:**

New York's proposed letter to Cleaver from "New York 21" indicated "New York 21" are followers of Cleaver and urged Cleaver to take action to pull the BPP together since party has been factionalized by Newton. Purpose is to aggravate the dissension between Cleaver and Newton. "THE BPP" IS "NICKNAME" FOR CLEAVER

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 1/7/71

FROM : SAC, SPRINGFIELD (157-802) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
SPRINGFIELD DIVISION  
RM

It is recommended by the Springfield Division that a caricature be drawn of [REDACTED] an Agitator Index subject who leads the Cairo United Front.

In connection with a counterintelligence program directed against black extremists, Springfield Division desires to anonymously, through sources not traceable to the Bureau, circularize the Cairo black and white community and other communities where [REDACTED] speaks and travels a caricature exposing him as an opportunist.

[REDACTED] has been the subject of an extensive investigation in the Springfield Division for the past several months and was recently recommended for [REDACTED]. This investigation has determined that the Cairo United Front [REDACTED] received funds amounting to \$68,000 supplied by a church group affiliated with the National Council of Churches. In addition, other sources, including grants and donations taken up at various rallies and speaking appearances, have provided funds approximating \$10,000.

During the past Thanksgiving and Christmas season, large amounts of food and clothing were collected and brought to Cairo, however, complaints have been raised that these were distributed on a selected basis and the black community did not totally benefit from the contributions.

[REDACTED] Cairo United Front have been under attack by [REDACTED] operating out of the office of the [REDACTED] Springfield, Illinois, in a public information capacity. [REDACTED] has strongly criticized [REDACTED] for being an opportunist and an agitator.

(2-Bureau (RM)  
5-Springfield (2:157-802)  
(1:157-872)

(1:157-136)  
(1:157-1403)

FEG/DTS/lsh/mab  
(7)

EX-115

REC-56

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Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



30



Investigation by the WFO and the Springfield Division has determined that [REDACTED] now holds a position of leadership of the National Black United Front. [REDACTED] has connections in Chicago, Kansas City, and has been reported in Boston, New York, and other communities. He appeared at a recent black gathering in Atlanta.

The caricature of [REDACTED] that Springfield desires to utilize would depict [REDACTED] in his typical expensive mod clothing with his Afro haircut. [REDACTED] normally wears mod styled shoes, and when the climate allows, he appears in a striped polo shirt, vest, and slightly flaired slacks. When he wears a coat, it is a Norfolk style waist coat. All of his clothing is expensive, well fitting, and in good mod taste. He also wears a necklace to which is attached a small wooden black fist. It is suggested that the caricature portray [REDACTED] in all of his finery. Offset slightly in the background another black should be drawn in obviously poor quality clothing, not reflecting the latest mod taste. [REDACTED] should be pictured next to a piece of luggage to which would be attached travel stickers bearing names, such as Atlanta, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, and New York. Altogether the illustration of [REDACTED] his suitcase, and his less fortunate black brother would take up 2/3 of legal size paper. This would allow lines to be drawn showing the comparative cost of such things as [REDACTED] shoes and the ordinary black man's, [REDACTED] flaired trousers and vest and the clothing of his less fortunate brother. There would also be room on which to place current travel costs which could be changed to fit his various junkets across the country and which would allow circulation in other offices where [REDACTED] is scheduled to speak.

The anticipated cost of the caricature of [REDACTED] would be only the time and manpower involved to create a master copy at the Bureau. Springfield Division could add in the various cost data which would be determined when [REDACTED] makes a trip or appears on the scene in a new costume, and Xerox or multilith copies could be made at minimum cost per copy in sufficient number for distribution.

If the Bureau approves, upon notification, the Springfield Division will furnish various current photographs of [REDACTED] from which the caricature could be made. It is anticipated that circulation of this would further latent resentment against [REDACTED] in the black community and assist in neutralizing him.

1/19/71

Airtel

REC-2  
2/1/71

100-448006 2/1/71

1  
1

To: SAC, Springfield (157-802)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurlet 1/7/71 setting forth your opinion that circulation of a caricature, drawn at the Bureau of [REDACTED] Cairo, Illinois, could serve a counterintelligence purpose; namely, lessening of [REDACTED] influence in the black community.

Bureau concurs in the opinion that a poster drawn of [REDACTED] emphasizing his expensive and modish clothing as contrasted with another black in obvious poor circumstances, could be a means of lessening [REDACTED] support in the black community of Cairo and elsewhere. The poster could serve to highlight the expensive taste of [REDACTED] and possibly some of his other opportunistic traits which are undoubtedly already well known in the black community.

The Bureau, however, does not feel that it would be necessary to include on such a poster some type of list showing comparative cost of his clothing against others or the cost of his travel since if this poster displays a professional touch or too much effort, it is felt it could lessen its impact. It is felt that if the poster does not appear too professional, it would more readily

RJE:saf (5)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

EB 4 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to Springfield  
Re: COINTELPRO - Black Extremists  
157-9222

gain acceptance as having been prepared by possibly a concerned black of the community. It is also felt that one or two statements written on the poster in local jargon such as "Who Pays?", "Who Paid for these Clothes?", or something to that effect indicating the opportunistic nature of the subject might be more effective.

Dissemination of these posters should not be handled through Bureau sources. Such utilization of sources could result in their possible compromise, as well as pose a threat of possible embarrassment to the Bureau.

Also in the interest of security, it is felt the most secure method would be to prepare the master copy and also reproduce all copies at the Bureau and thereafter supply you with the finished posters.

You should therefore promptly submit to the Bureau several appropriate photographs of [redacted] showing examples of his modish dress, if available, as well as several suggestions of statements to be included on the poster. You should also furnish the Bureau specific information concerning the secure means you would utilize to distribute the posters, information concerning type of individuals who would be furnished the poster, as well as the number of posters that you would initially require.

NOTE: Springfield has proposed sound counterintelligence operation to embarrass [redacted]

[redacted] a predominantly black group which has led 19-month boycott of white merchants in Cairo. However, Springfield proposed use of sources and did not furnish specifics as to how it might disseminate posters to the black community. Springfield also indicated that it might reproduce the posters after receiving master copy of the poster from Bureau. [redacted] is Priority I, Security Index subject and a key black extremist.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

DATE: 1/28/71

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. G. D. Brennan

FROM : G. C. Moore

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - EXPULSIONS  
RACIAL MATTERS

*M.C. M.*  
*5-7 JFM*

To advise of disciplinary action taken by BPP leader Huey P. Newton against "New York 21" in fit of rage and to obtain approval for attached teletype requesting New York to submit text of proposed counterintelligence letter aimed at furthering dissension within BPP.

Our special coverage has determined that Newton in fit of anger has expelled members of "New York 21" still in jail and suspended those currently out on bond because of article attributed to them in New York underground newspaper critical of support given "New York 21" by BPP headquarters. "New York 21" refers to 21 BPP members indicted at New York City in 1969 on bombing conspiracy charges. Thirteen are currently on trial, four of whom are out on bail. Remainder are to be tried separately and three of them are out on bail. Since indictment, "New York 21" have been a cause celebre and a source of great propaganda for BPP receiving considerable financial contributions from liberal and naive individuals.

*[Handwritten signature]*

As counterintelligence proposal to further disrupt BPP San Francisco suggested New York arrange for expulsion story to appear in New York newspaper with Algerian date line so it would look like it came from BPP leader Eldridge Cleaver who is aware of Newton's actions. In commenting on suggestion New York recommended it would be more effective if publication of expulsions appeared in BPP newspaper and New York recommended counterintelligence letter from "New York 21" to Cleaver calling for his assistance, urging him to take over active leadership of BPP and implying Newton needs "medical attention."

*2186*

100-448006

*EX-105 REC-49*

CONTINUED - OVER

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97 FEB 10 1971

Enclosure *sent 1-28-71*

*34*

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan  
Re: Counterintelligence Program  
Black Panther Party (BPP) - Expulsions  
100-448006

Since expulsion of "New York 21" will undoubtedly appear in BPP newspaper and Cleaver is known to be sympathetic to "New York 21" and currently at odds with Newton, we concur with New York's recommendation as a more logical approach aimed at causing as much dissension as possible within BPP, particularly between Newton and Cleaver. Accordingly, attached teletype instructs New York to immediately prepare counterintelligence letter and submit text by teletype for approval.

ACTION:

If you agree, attached teletype in line with the above will be sent.

A  
OK  
✓  
WBS

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 1/29/71

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4054) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO  
BLACK NATURALIST HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

On 1/25/71, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was contacted concerning his brother's recent expulsion from the BPP as set forth in the January 23rd issue of the BPP newspaper.

[REDACTED] stated that upon reading the aforementioned article, he personally was extremely upset in that it was "nothing but a series of lies." He stated the article astounded him in that he could not believe the BPP would totally abandon his brother, whom he felt was one of their most dedicated members.

[REDACTED] further indicated that the article had to have been sanctioned by HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Supreme Commander, in that it carried his signature and, thereby, he, [REDACTED] would have to label NEWTON as a liar.

[REDACTED] was unsure as to what steps should be taken in order to counter-act NEWTON's flagrant lies, but suggested letters to various Los Angeles based black community newspapers, such as the "Los Angeles Sentinel," exposing the lies of NEWTON and the obvious dishonesty of the BPP.

[REDACTED] was advised that freedom of speech was a right guaranteed by the Constitution, and in so being, it was his prerogative to write letters critical of the BPP to anyone he desired.

ST 104

REC-30

Los Angeles will maintain discreet contact with [REDACTED] and appropriate COINTELPRO recommendations will be forwarded.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Los Angeles

BOC/smh  
(4)

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OTHERWISE.

16 FEB 4 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

36

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 2/2/71

FROM : SAC, JACKSON (100-980) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RM

Re Bureau airtel to Atlanta and twenty other offices, dated 1/13/71.

In accordance with instructions in reference, anonymous mailings forwarded to following address on 2/2/71:

1. Radio Station WOKJ  
1850 Lynch Street  
Jackson, Mississippi  
(Negro radio station)
2. The Jackson Advocate  
406½ North Farish Street  
Jackson, Mississippi  
(Negro newspaper)
3. Editor, The "Harambee"  
Tougaloo College  
Tougaloo, Mississippi 39174  
(Black Nationalist Newspaper)
4. Editor,  
Purple and White Newspaper  
Jackson State College  
Jackson, Mississippi  
(Negro campus newspaper)

2 - Bureau (RM) (100-448006)  
2 - San Francisco (RM)  
2 - WFO (RM)  
2 - Jackson  
TF:bal  
(8)

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17 FEB 8 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.

5. President, Black Student Union  
University of Mississippi  
Oxford, Mississippi 38655
6. "The Kudzu"  
P. O. Box 22502  
Jackson, Mississippi 39205  
(New Left newspaper)
7. President,  
Student Government Association  
Alcorn A & M College  
Lorman, Mississippi 39096  
(Negro college)
8. [REDACTED]
9. President,  
Student Government Association  
Mississippi Valley State College  
Itta Bena, Mississippi 38941  
(Negro college)
10. [REDACTED]
11. [REDACTED]



12. President, Student Body,  
Rust College  
Holly Springs, Mississippi 38635  
(Negro College)
13. President, Black Student Union  
Delta State College  
Cleveland, Mississippi 38732
14. President, Black Student Union  
Millsaps College  
1701 North State Street  
Jackson, Mississippi
15. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
(militant civil rights activist)
16. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
(militant Negro leader)
17. Delta Ministry  
National Council of Churches  
723 Nelson Street  
Greenville, Mississippi  
(militant quasi-civil rights group)
18. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]
19. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

20. Editor,  
Delta-Democrat Times  
North Broadway Extended  
Greenville, Mississippi 38701  
(liberal newspaper)
21. NAACP  
1072 Lynch Street  
Jackson, Mississippi  
(Mississippi NAACP State Headquarters)
22. Purple and White Newspaper  
Millsaps College  
1701 North State Street  
Jackson, Mississippi
23. "The Daily Mississippian"  
University of Mississippi  
Oxford, Mississippi 38655  
(campus newspaper)
24. 

Precautions were taken so mailings could not be traced to the Bureau.

Bureau, San Francisco and WFO will be advised of any positive results.

FBI

Date: 1/21/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via A I R T E L A I R M A I L  
(Priority)

Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Brennan	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Walters	
Mr. Soyars	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-448006)  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)  
SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RM

The Bureau and offices receiving copies of instant airtel have previously been advised that HUEY NEWTON, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party (BPP), is tentatively scheduled to depart San Francisco with DAVID HILLIARD, BPP Chief of Staff, and [REDACTED] NEWTON, on 1/28/71. NEWTON still tentatively plans to speak at Princeton University on 2/9/71, Syracuse University on 2/14/71 and Columbia University on 2/15/71.

The Bureau has also been advised that recently the BPP has insisted on strict security arrangements for all appearances of NEWTON and that these arrangements would be in the hands of local chapters of the BPP. The BPP has further insisted on all persons entering the auditorium being searched by BPP personnel and that everyone attending a NEWTON speech be seated ten minutes prior to his arrival. NEWTON also will not agree to share the platform with any other individual.

Recently two California schools have cancelled appearances of NEWTON because of the BPP's insistence on searches.

REC-30 110-108100-2189

It is suggested that the Bureau authorize Newark, Albany and New York to confidentially advise established sources

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Albany (RM)
- 2 - Newark (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco

LSB/jr  
(9)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

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FEB 8 1971

M Per \_\_\_\_\_

SF 157-601  
LSB/jr

at the universities where NEWTON is scheduled to appear or established newspaper sources in that locality concerning the probability that the BPP will demand the audience be searched before entering the auditoriums and that all attendants must be seated ten minutes before his arrival. It is felt that some of the school officials might protest and cancel NEWTON's public appearance.

ROUTE 1 ENVELOPE

2-5-71

Airtel

1 - Mr. G.C. Moore

1 -

1 -

To: SACs, Albany  
Newark  
New York  
San Francisco (157-601)

EX-111

REC-30

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 2189

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RACIAL MATTERS

ReSFairtel to Bureau and recipient offices 1-21-71  
captioned "Cointelpro - Black Extremists."

After careful consideration, Bureau authority is being denied to apprise established sources of the demands the BPP will make when Huey Newton appears at various universities. Although contacts would be discreet and with established sources there is a possibility of the Bureau becoming needlessly involved in activities at institutions of learning.

All offices should be alert to the activities on the part of Newton and others at such speaking engagements which can be utilized against Newton and the BPP through publicity. Suggestions regarding possible action in this regard should be submitted to the Bureau for approval before taking action.

WLS:bee  
(12)

MAILED 4

COMM-FBI

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NOTE:

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Young \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Ziegler \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Information developed that extremist BPP is having difficulty in completing arrangements for Huey P. Newton, cofounder and Minister of Defense of the BPP, to speak on several university campuses. This has been caused by BPP insisting on such things as local BPP members or representatives being in charge of security and searching all entering to hear Newton speak. Audience is to be seated ten minutes before Newton speaks and remain seated until he leaves. SF has suggested that university and newspaper sources be contacted concerning the unreasonable demands being made of the audiences before whom Newton speaks. Authority denied as we should avoid direct action which might result in criticism.

MAIL ROOM

43  
max

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 3 1971  
WJM  
TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

NR 009 SF CODE

7 18 PM NITEL 2/3/71 BEH

TO: DIRECTOR (100-448006)

NEW YORK (100-161993)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

*Remove*

*Fujita*

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMIST, RACIAL MATTERS.

BUREAU AND NEW YORK ARE AWARE OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER TAPE AND  
MICHAEL ZVERIN'S ARTICLE IN THE VILLAGE VOICE COVERING BLACK  
PANTHER'S ARREST IN ALGIERS OF LEARY'S AND CLEAVER'S CONDEMNATION  
OF JERRY RUBIN AND OTHER CAUCASIAN NEW LEFT LEADERS.

SAN FRANCISCO REQUESTS PERMISSION TO MAIL FOLLOWING LETTER  
TO HUEY NEWTON. IT WILL BE SENT TO NEWTON CARE OF BLACK PANTHER  
CHAPTER WHERE HE IS LOCATED AT TIME BUREAU APPROVAL RECEIVED:  
END OF PAGE ONE

*Copy to SF 2/3/71  
ABF/aw 2-5-71*

*BA*

REC-30

100-448006-2190

EX-111

FEB 8 1971

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*44*

PAGE TWO

SF 157-681

"MR. NEWTON.

"WE HAVE HEARD THE MONDAY BROADCAST OF THE CLEAVER TAPE AND NOW HAVE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO READ ZVERIN'S ARTICLE IN THE VILLAGE VOICE.

"WE ARE COMPLETELY UNABLE TO UNDERSTAND YOUR MOTIVES AND ACTIONS. SURELY CLEAVER WOULD NOT HAVE MADE THESE STATEMENTS DIVORCING THE BPP FROM WHITE REVOLUTIONARIES WITHOUT YOUR APPROVAL. HOW CAN YOU CRITICIZE THE PIGS AND JUSTIFY HIS RACIST AND FASCIST ACTION IN BUSTING LEARY.

"DON'T YOU SEE WHAT YOU'RE DOING TO BOBBY SEALE AND EVERY POLITICAL PRISONER. YOU ARE SPLITTING OFF THE PEOPLES SUPPORT. THAT SUPPORT IS THE ONLY THING THAT CAN SAVE BOBBY FROM THE CHAIR AND THE NEW YORK TWENTYONE FROM PRISON. NEXT ELDRIDGE WILL FLUSH YOU DOWN THE DRAIN.

"HOW CAN YOU COMDEMN THE WHITE INTELLECTUAL LEADERS ON ONE HAND AND THEN TURN AROUND AND SEEK THE PEOPLES SUPPORT FOR POLITICAL

END OF PAGE TWO

45

PAGE THREE

SF 157-681

PRISONERS. THERE IS NOT MUCH DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CLEAVER AND CARMICHAEL, BOTH ARE RACIST NIGGERS.

"MOTHER JONES COMMUNE, TWO FOUR THREE EIGHT WARRING, BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA."

FOR INFORMATION BUREAU, MOTHER JONES COMMUNE IS A COMMUNE OF CAUCASIANS NEAR THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA BERKELEY CAMPUS.

SUGGEST NEW YORK GIVE CONSIDERATION TO DIRECTING SIMILAR COUNTERINTELLIGENCE LETTER TO BPP NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, CRITICIZING CLEAVER'S ACTIONS AS A HINDERANCE TO SUPPORT OF NEW YORK TWENTYONE.

IT HAS BEEN REPORTED PREVIOUSLY THAT NEWTON WAS DISTURBED OVER THE PROPOSED RELEASE OF THE CLEAVER TAPE WITHOUT REVIEW OF THE CONTENTS BY HIM AND THE PURPOSE OF THE ABOVE LETTERS WOULD BE TO FURTHER ANGER NEWTON WITH THE HOPE THAT HE MIGHT AS A RESULT EXPEL ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AND THE ENTIRE ALGERIAN SECTION FROM THE PARTY SINCE HIS RECENT REACTION TO ANYTHING THAT DISPLEASES HIM IS EITHER TO SUSPEND OR EXPEL PANTHERS, INCLUDING THOSE IN LEADERSHIP CAPACITIES.

END

HOLD

46



# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/5/71

Airtel

1 -  
1 -  
1 -

To: SACs, San Francisco (157-601)

EX-111 REC-30 New York (100-161993)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2190

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

ReSftel 2/3/71, copy furnished New York.

Bureau approval granted San Francisco to immediately send letter to Huey P. Newton, text of which outlined in retel. Insure mailing cannot be traced to Bureau.

New York suairtel observations for similar letter to be directed to BPP national headquarters, Oakland, California, from New York along with desired text for Bureau approval.

ABF:drl (8)

## NOTE:

Recent condemnation by BPP leader Eldridge Cleaver of white New Left leaders and of drug apostle Dr. Timothy Leary received nationwide publicity. San Francisco requested authority to send letter to Newton signed by a white commune in San Francisco area condemning Cleaver's action and castigating Newton for permitting Cleaver to make such an accusation. Purpose of counterintelligence is to heighten existing dissension between Newton and Cleaver which is particularly apropos in this case since it is known that Newton opposed release of of Cleaver's accusation.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Breanan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 22

FEB - 5 1971

COMM-FBI

97 FEB 10 1971

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MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

47

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 2/2/71

FROM : SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15780) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RM

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau is a copy of the latest issue of the newsletter, "Another Side," published by the organization of the same name in Pittsburgh.

The Bureau has previously been furnished information relating to "Another Side" under both the Counterintelligence caption and under the caption of "Another Side."

The Bureau's attention is directed to page five of this issue of "Another Side," which sets out various items concerning the Black Panthers including a quotation from the Black Panther Newspaper. Also set out are denunciations of the tactics of the Black Panthers.

Bureau authority is requested to obtain a six-months subscription of the Black Panther Newspaper for "Another Side." This subscription will be obtained utilizing a false name. Thereafter, a letter will be directed to "Another Side" at its Post Office Box, which will state as follows:

"Dear Sirs:

"I have read a recent issue of your publication which sets out some of the dangerous quotes of the Black Panther Party. I have taken the liberty of obtaining a subscription to this newspaper for you in order that you will be able to have an up-to-date record of the revolutionary ravings of this group. I hope you will be able to utilize other such quotes which may appear in future issues of the paper to call to the

(2) - Bureau (Enc.-1) (RM)  
2 - Pittsburgh  
LHC/jkc

REC-30

16 FEB 5 1971

ENCLOSURE

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RACIAL INT. SEC.



5010-108-02

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

48

"attention of our people the true nature of the Panthers.

"Sincerely,

"Jesse Everett"

If the Bureau approves obtaining this six-month subscription, it will be paid for with money from the confidential fund of this office.

Pittsburgh recommends the foregoing action under the Counterintelligence Program inasmuch as it is considered likely that this office can utilize the name "JESSE EVERETT" in communications with the organization and point out various revolutionary statements contained in the Black Panther Newspaper with the suggestion that "Another Side" use any such future quotations to denounce the Black Panthers. In addition, this device may enable the Pittsburgh Office to establish contact with "Another Side" without the organization becoming aware of the true nature of the contact, for future utilization under the Counterintelligence Program.

No action will be taken in this matter without Bureau authority, and the Bureau will be advised of any tangible results.

to Cook, was:

"No more sisters in jail,

"Off the pig.

"No more brothers in jail,

"Off the pig.

"The revolution has come,

"Off the pig.

"Time to pick up your gun,

"Off the pig.

"And put the pigs on the run,

"Off the pig."

Cook said the children were taught to march to another verse:

"Piggly Wiggly, you gotta go now.

"Oink oink, bang bang, dead pig."

Police said Tyrone Canaday, 10, found the canister in a box of clothes in a garage where the Panthers conduct a "free breakfast" program for children.

The boy accidentally pulled the pin on the grenade and

ley in May 1969, but met Kunstler "who put me up at one of his lady friend's houses."

Kunstler, in Chicago, quickly denied he had spoken with Sams and termed the witness's claim typical of the "bizarre testimony" offered by the prosecution.

Sams said the meeting "delayed" his arrival in Chicago and that he was "prevented from carrying out the order" by Hampton's arrest by the FBI in early June 1969.

sprayed himself, his two brothers and two sisters. They were treated at Central Receiving Hospital for minor eye irritations and released.

Cook said no arrests were made in the tear gas incident but an investigation was being conducted.

#### COMMENT:

You can talk about the Mafia, the Klu Klux Klan, etc. There is and was and still is a difference between them and the Black Panthers, the S. D. S. and the Weatherman. The Mafia or the Klan, they knew what they were doing and who they were after. They usually got their man. They weren't a bunch of cowards who were hurting innocent people by their bombings or killing of policemen and firemen.

#### ANOTHER SIDE

Philadelphia, Pa., Washington, D.C., and Baltimore, Md., on different violent militant groups and the Panthers top them all. Who knows where the panthers might strike next? We from Another Side are going to try to know before they do.

#### PANTHERS SEE GUNS AS THE KEYS TO PARADISE

"When a mechanic wants to fix a broken down car engine, he must have the necessary tools to do the job. When the people move for liberation they must have basic tools of liberation, the gun. Only with the power of the gun can the Black masses halt the terror and brutality perpetuated by the armed racist power structure; and in one sense only the power of the gun can the whole world be transformed into the earthly paradise dreamed of by the people from time immemorial.

The above paragraph is taken from the Black Panther newspaper. (Black Community News Service, Sept. 5, 1970.)

## Racial Group Picketed

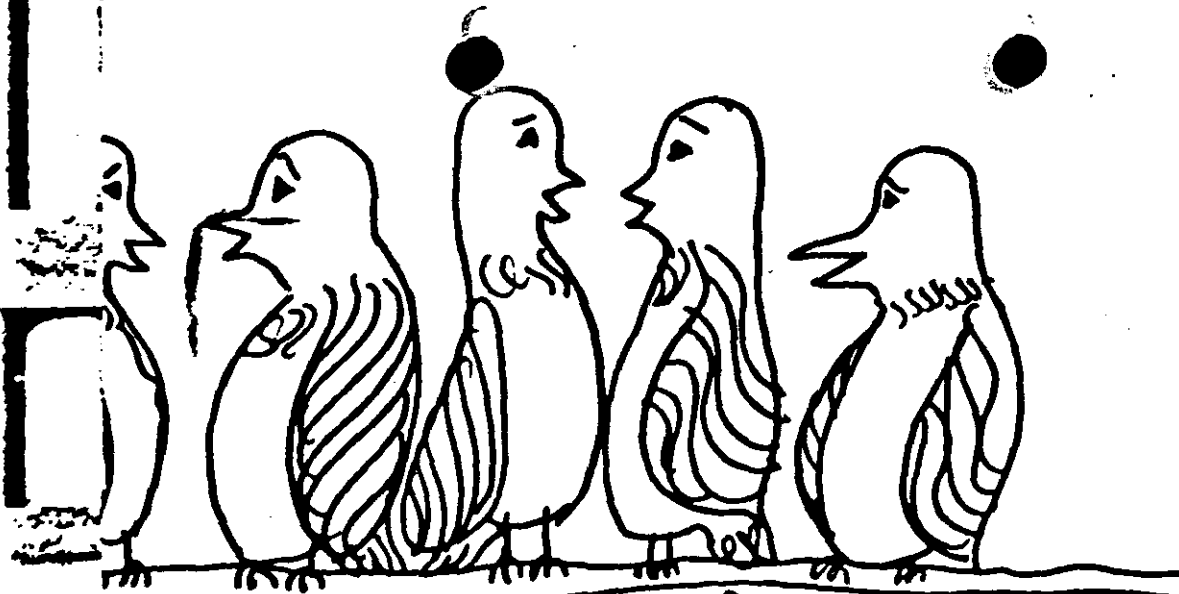
Some half-dozen members of a group called "Another Side," a predominantly black organization which protests what it calls "black racism," picketed the headquarters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People yesterday.

Mrs. Maxine Smith, who de-

scribed herself as "a concerned black woman" and a member of "Another Side," said the picketing was directed toward radical blacks "who are using the white people who are making an honest effort at restitution."

A special target of the pickets, was the leadership of NAACP President L. B. Brown.

Mrs. Smith, who gave address as 2100 Wilkinsburg, said the picketing began about 2 p.m. and continued until 3:30 p.m.



↑  
J.S.  
LATOR,  
WEN. A.C.P.

↑  
AUGUSTUS  
TAYLOR

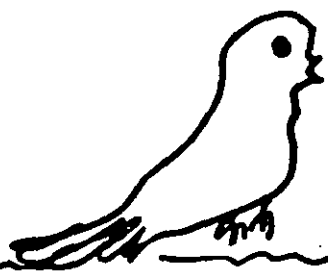
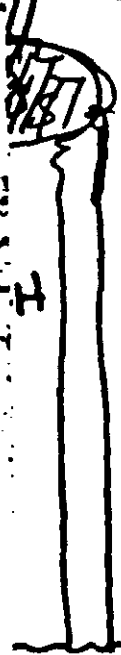
↑  
PEOR.  
AUDELY  
HOLLAND

↑  
YOUNG  
WORKERS  
LIBERATION  
LEAGUE

↑  
REVOLUTIONARY  
SOCIALIST  
UNION

WIFE OF JAMES  
HOLLAND, PH.D. PROFESSOR  
WHO CO-SPONSORED THE  
ILL-FATED MIDWEST EDITION  
OF THE COMMUNIST PAPER, "THE WORLD"

↑  
NATIONS  
PEER  
A. DAVIS



You're Right,  
It is for  
the  
Birds!

#### COMMENT:

Mr. Tim Stevens, since you are saying Angela Davis was black before she was a communist, what was Janet Smith before she was put in jail involving a black man and a white woman? That black man is the man that is running for President of the N.A.A.C.P. — Attorney Byrd R. Brown.

Mary Davis  
Reporter

Angela Davis, Black Panthers, and the Communist Party, are all one and the same birds of a feather that flock together.

## "BIRDS OF A FEATHER FLOCK TOGETHER"

All these birds have something in common. They spoke on the same platform and on the same subject which was raising funds for Miss Angela Davis who is an avowed communist.

Although Mr. Tim Stevens didn't speak, at the last minute, he had a letter read. In general, it said the same thing as the rest. He was in the audience setting on the steps due to pressure brought on by other members of N.A.A.C.P. and other black groups. He would not speak. So that bird, Mr. Tim Stevens, got his wings clipped.

This was in our December 21, 1969 edition of ANOTHER SIDE

## Atty. Brown Set For Hearing On Tiff With Girl

Attorney Byrd R. Brown was slated to undergo a hearing before Magistrate Rocco Burrello in East Liberty Police Station

next Thursday, Nov. 20, as the result of his arrest arising from a disturbance involving two women last Sunday night in the Penn Plaza Apartments, East Liberty.

Police reports revealed that Attorney Brown and Janice Ruffner, 28, returned to her apartment at the Penn Plaza Sunday evening, only to find Janet M. Smith, 26, of 2101 Park Hill Drive, Wilksburg, wreaking destruction in Miss Ruffner's quarters.

Attorney Brown allegedly called police and Miss Smith was arrested and arraigned before Magistrate Harry Fitzgerald on a hearing on a malicious mischief charge. Magistrate Fitzgerald set the hearing in Miss Smith's case for today (Thursday).

Brown was later arrested on

a charge of aggravated assault and battery, after Miss Smith filed counter charges before Magistrate Burrello, charging that Brown "struck and kicked" her. Magistrate Burrello arraigned Brown Wednesday morning and set the hearing for next Thursday.

COMMENTS  
FROM  
ANOTHER SIDE

We from ANOTHER SIDE first want the public to know about the people involved in the case in the

Continued on page 6

53

groups and groups like S.D.S., etc., etc., get their financial support, and why is it so easy for them to obtain. Why do all those so called Black radical leaders, when they get in trouble, turn to the Communist people and ask for help. Eldridge Cleaver etc., etc.

This is for the birds - Communist at work!

The faculty of the University of California in Los Angeles, by the unbelievable vote of 551 to 4, supported a move to rescind its 1950 ban of Communists from employment at the university on Thursday, October 2, 1969. By a vote of 539 to 12 it condemned the California Board of Regents for ordering the dismissal of the Communist Angela Davis (a Black woman teacher), Assistant Professor of Philosophy. This all goes to prove that not only to some of you ignorant that "Black is Beautiful", but to you "Red" also! Miss Davis is Black, Red and ... Dumb!

-Ike Thomas  
Director of ANOTHER SIDE

the FBI. David Hilliard, Roy Masat Hewitt, Emory Douglas, Henry Newton - in prison as the rest should be. Bobby Seale - in prison also, but not for long. More to come in later issues of ANOTHER SIDE!

Anyone wanting a copy of the Congressional Record of the Black Manifesto and Demands, write to ANOTHER SIDE and we will gladly see that you get a copy.

#### COMMENT NO. 4

We from ANOTHER SIDE think that it is wrong for groups of any kind forming overnight with all kinds of names, to hit the big companies and corporations with their sometimes unreasonable demands on hiring practices. It seems as though anybody can get a group together or split with another group, or those so called Black splitting of their own group and give themselves a name, and away they go. We from ANOTHER SIDE feel that the government should have a law and step in and stop all this nonsense because who are they representing in the first place. There are more groups

with their own personal and financial gains".

We from ANOTHER SIDE hope that in the New Year, we can continue, so that we can open the eyes of a lot of people to what is really going on and you are helping. We feel that your hearts and intentions are all good but not all the receiver - "It is Better to Give than Receive". But know your receiver - those two collar wearing people. Until next time - thank you from ANOTHER SIDE!

We have a reward program for information on any burning, looting or destruction of property.

We need your financial support to keep our paper and our program going, so please send us a donation and let us hear from you.

Send it to:

ANOTHER SIDE  
P.O. Box 1911  
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15230

For Jobs: Call - Job Call 565-2640

During an engagement at the Civic Arena in 1962 with an entertainment show out of New York, Ike Thomas took sick and was rushed to the hospital with a throat and windpipe condition. He has not played since. Luckily, being at home, he was able to make it and has been in Pittsburgh ever since.

When Mr. Thomas heard about the article in the COURIER, he made a special trip to the new Pittsburgh COURIER Office and made himself known to Mr. Carl Morris, editor of the COURIER. Mr. Thomas said he was treated real nice after he told Mr. Morris what he had to say.

Mr. Thomas was offered an interview and an opportunity to say his say in the paper but he refused. He only wanted to make sure that they really knew who he was.

This is about all I can tell you about "who in the hell is Ike Thomas," but if you want any more information, I am sure Mr. Thomas can fill you in. Just write to him:

Another Side  
P. O. Box 1911  
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15230

Or you may call him at: 391-6938.

I'm sure he knows more and can tell you more about himself and Another Side than anyone else.

Reporters: Karl Edwards  
Redda Jones

### COMMENTS FROM ANOTHER SIDE To Our Negro or Black People:

We from Another Side are talking directly to you, whether you like it or not. We are going to tell it like it is.

We feel that the N.A.A.C.P. of the Pittsburgh Branch, needs a thorough overhauling, and if it doesn't happen very soon, its going to go down the drain. There is only a few—a very few—responsible people that are keeping it together now because you responsible blacks or you highly respected blacks don't attend the meetings or get involved. They only keep their membership because of the good work the national office and some of the other branches are doing.

If you, our black people, don't get involved, our local branch of the N.A.A.C.P. is in deep trouble. There is a click or syndicate that is trying to run things at the Wylie Avenue office of N.A.A.C.P. and if you are not a part of it, you are going to be left out. The elections are just about due (December 3rd, 1970) at the University and Ministries, Fifth and Bellefield

annual convention.

"We expect to investigate who is helping who," Thomas said. "The Black Panthers and other black violent, radical groups are not getting financial support from respected black groups. They are getting support from white pretenders and Communists."

Dr. R. Lester Strayhorn, of New York City, was elected president, and S. Donald Tyler, of Philadelphia, first vice president of the NAACP. Tyler asked for an out investigation into racially connected killings in Philadelphia and elsewhere, and the connection of the Black Panthers with the killings.

Twenty delegates from Pittsburgh attended.

Avenues in Oakland. The Veteran Civil Negotiator, James McCoy, Jr. is running against Another Bird, by name Byrd Brown, the so called President. The do nothing President that has others doing all the talking.

We feel that the responsible blacks and also the whites that hold membership in the Pittsburgh Branch, should get involved and get out there and vote. They should check out the two men running, and I'll bet you would end up voting for Mr. James McCoy, Jr. That is, if you want the NAACP to live up to what it stands for: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

What has Mr. Byrd Brown done for the N.A.A.C.P. since he has been in office? Please, someone tell us. Not only that, what has he really done for the colored people, or black people in the city of Pittsburgh? You get a lawyer that will take your case if you have the money. When the money broke, you end up going to jail. This he has a good record for. Other well known things he is known for. We had about seven to ten thousand members at one time; now we are down to about two thousand. Maybe about four hundred out of the two thousand voted the last time. So what's new? The New Image and Tim Stevens: "The Byrd Brown Puppet."

Continued on page 2



## SPEAKERS:

Charlene Mitchell – Black Liberation Commission, Communist Party, Angela Davis Defense  
Communist Candidate for President in 1968.

Tim Stevens – Executive Director, "New Image" Pittsburgh N.A.A.C.P.

Fr. Augustus Taylor – St. Brigid St. Benedict The Moor Church

Prof. Audrey Holland – University of Pittsburgh Speech Department.; Wife of James Holland  
Pitt Professor who co-sponsored the ill-fated Mid-west edition of the  
Communist paper, "The World."

## SPONSORS

Young Workers Liberation League – Communist Party's Youth Organization – 682-8913

Revolutionary Socialist Union – Former S D S at Pitt – 621-3500 x 7155

LABOR DONATED

*Continued from page 1*

He tries to talk like him, act like him, and do a number of others like him. And for the Board, the only time you hear from them is when there is a big affair coming off where someone is to be honored. Then they all come out to be seen. So if something is not done and done in a hurry, the N.A.A.C.P. of Pittsburgh Branch, is going down the drain.

Redda Jones  
Secretary – Reporter  
ANOTHER SIDE

### COMMENT:

*Let me say this, if Mr. McCoy does not win, we from Another Side are*

*going to be in this fight to the end. The N. A.A.C.P. here is going to live up to what it stands for.*

*You can call me or some of our members of Another Side what you want to, and if you see my name, like Thomas, or any other member of my staff along side the names of The Black Panthers, White Panthers, Klux Klan, John Burchers, or groups of this kind speaking and some things they are saying, you would look like a darn fool for anything but Another Side because that is what we are and what we stand for!*

Ike Thomas,  
Executive Director  
ANOTHER SIDE



# RALLY

DEFEND  
ANGELA  
DAVIS!!

8 P.M. Nov. 4th

L-9 CLAPP HALL  
UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH  
(FIFTH AND TENNYSON, OAKLAND)

56

**IKE THOMAS**  
*Editor and Exec. Director*  
**MELVIN ROBINSON**  
*Director*  
**REDDA JONES**  
*Secretary-Reporter*  
**KARL EDWARDS**  
*Reporter*  
**MARY DAVIS**  
*Reporter*  
**JEFFERY C. ALSTON**  
*Director*  
*Wilkesburg-Penn Hills*  
*(Another Side)*  
**ARNOLD STAPLES**  
*President*  
*Black Christian Patriots*  
**P. L. PRATTIS**  
*Advisory Staff*

# Another Side

POST OFFICE BOX 1911

PITTSBURGH, PA. 15230

FROM COAST TO COAST

National Negro Moderates of America

WE ARE AMERICAN NEGROES, SO HEAR ANOTHER SIDE

**STAFF MEMBERS**  
**FRANK WHEELER**  
*Exec. Director*  
*East Boro and Wilkesburg*  
**IDA JOHNSON**  
*Director*  
*Accent on Youth*  
**GEORGE COOK**  
*U. S. Steel Worker*  
**HENRY H. LLOYD**  
*Music Instructor*  
**A. K. PRICE**  
*Auto Salesman*  
**REV. H. O. POLK**  
**REV. C. KIRKLAND**  
*Pres. Wilkesburg Chapter*  
*N.A.A.C.P.*  
**W. VERNON CRAWFORD**  
*Director*  
*E. McKeesport-Clairton*  
*Another Side*

## WHO IN THE HELL IS IKE THOMAS?

This question, "Who in the hell is Ike Thomas," was asked in one of Pittsburgh's local black newspapers: (The New Pittsburgh Courier.) Here is a little about Ike Thomas:

Ike Thomas was born and raised in a little Pennsylvania town up the Monongahela Valley. After graduating from high school, he attended West Virginia State College for two years, left there and went to Penn State University for a year. He left Penn State University because of his love for music.

Ike Thomas is a darn good musician. He played alto sax, tenor, and clarinet. He played trombone in the high school band. For 17 years or so, he played professionally all over the country with well-known musicians. Ike Thomas played a lot of background music for well-known entertainers from coast to coast.

Raised in the Pittsburgh area, a pretty fair education, and a good experience with people from all walks of life—Ike Thomas. We at Another Side think Ike Thomas knows where it's at. He knows both sides and he knows that there is another side.

## Thomas Eyes Radical Aid

Special to the Post-Gazette  
PHILADELPHIA.

Ike Thomas, of Pittsburgh's Hill District, today was elected to head a 12 man team to meet monthly to study the connections of black groups with crime and violence.

Thomas, executive director in Pittsburgh of Another Side, was chosen just before the Philadelphia Negro Moderates of America ended its second

Pittsburgh Press

## Meeting Set Here to Help Angela Davis

### NAACP Leader Broadcasts Call For Defense Fund

A meeting to solicit defense funds for Angela Davis, the black militant who was arrested in New York this week, has been scheduled at 6:30 p. m. Tuesday at Central Baptist Church, 2200 Wylie Ave., Hill District, it was reported yesterday.

The proposal has met with opposition from some blacks, it was learned.

#### Announced on Radio

Announcement of the meeting was made Thursday night by Tim Stevens, executive director of the Pittsburgh

Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people, in an interview over WAMO-Radio.

A tape recording played by the station for the Post-Gazette had Stevens saying, "I call for a defense fund for sister Angela Davis." The broadcast described her as a political prisoner.

According to the tape, Stevens pointed out that Miss Davis has not yet been proved guilty of murder and kidnap charges for allegedly supplying guns for a courtroom shootout in California last August.

#### COMMENT:

This was the first news release made by Mr. Tim Stevens, Executive Director of the New N.A.A.C.P. regardless of what excuses he tried to make later. I told him not anyone else were other black people right here in Pittsburgh who needed help that were not common Angela Davis. Then, Mr. Stevens, comes up with this Harrisburgh Three and the Manchester thing.

We from Another Side are trying to find out what happened to the first funds raised for the Harrisburgh Three some time ago.

He said members of the Mafia and Ku Klux Klan, who have committed more serious crimes than buying guns, are free.

#### Location Changed

Stevens first announced that the meeting would be held at the "New Image" of the NAACP in the Hill District but the location later was changed. Stevens was quoted as saying the "New Image" is devised to attract more young people into the NAACP.

Both Stevens and NAACP members said the defense fund did not mean that they were advocating Communist

policies. Miss Davis has said she is a Communist.

Ike Thomas, director of Another black conservative group, and a member of the NAACP, said that he and other blacks are opposed to solicitation of funds for Miss Davis.

"She's admitted she's a Communist, let them take care of her," Thomas said. "We're against blacks supporting her, although we are not pre-judging her case."

Stevens was reported last night as preparing to clarify his first announcement of the scheduled meeting.

IKE THOMAS

25

*Continued from page 3*

article by Atty. Byrd R. Brown. Janet M. Smith was a Black woman and Janice Ruffner was a White woman. We from ANOTHER SIDE are saying that as long as our "so called" Black leaders, whether it be an attorney or laborer, are going to get involved in such things they shouldn't be our leaders or "so called" leaders. We intend to tell it like it is! What ever the facts maybe we intend to let all our readers know about them. We intend to see that all those leaders practice what they preach.

*-Melvin Robinson,  
Ass. Dir. of ANOTHER SIDE*

#### COMMENT NO. 2

##### Communist at Work

We from ANOTHER SIDE are asking all our Negro's or Black people to ask themselves the question, "Where do all our Black radical group's and other groups, such as White radical

#### COMMENT NO. 3

##### About the Black Panther Party (And the Likes)

Any group be it Black or White, that is talking revolution, etc, etc, all the time and has weapons such as guns of all types and ammunition stored up in places all over the country is up to no good and they should be done away with. It is the sworn duty of the law enforcement to protect this country and its citizens from such groups. No group or individual takes the law into their own hands, and when they do, or try to, we all who ever we are suffer the consequences.

We from ANOTHER SIDE want you to just check out some of these character names we are going to mention, just for starters, their records and backgrounds. Sidney F. Walton, Jr. - age 35 - calls himself a "full time Black Revolutionary", a Black Panther. Eldridge Cleaver - wanted by

now than there are qualified people to place. Any Negro or Black with some knowhow, education, or even some common sense can speak for him or herself today and get a job. You don't need all of those so called Black middle men, troublemakers, inbetween people, etc. You don't need them, they need you to use you to hold on to the nothing they represent.

*-Ike Thomas,  
Director of ANOTHER SIDE*

#### COMMENT NO. 5

We from ANOTHER SIDE say to the White structure: churches - be they Methodist, Baptist, Catholic, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Jewish Synagogues and foundations throughout the country - "Keep on supporting and organizations without really getting into both sides. You will always end up helping those radicals and "so called" Black leaders who are in it for

## THE PANTHERS TEACH THIS ALL OVER AMERICA

- facts from Another Side

## Panthers Pen Death For 'Pigs'

LOS ANGELES (UPI) — A song authorities said was taught to children during Black Panther breakfast programs, including the verse, "Oink oink, bang bang, dead pig," has been released by police.

Sgt. Dan Cook said the song was sung to officers by five children who were sprayed with a tear gas grenade they found at a Black Panther building and accidentally triggered.

Cook said the reference to officers as "pigs" in the song was understood by the children.

Part of the song according

## Ordered To Kill, Panther Testifies

NEW HAVEN, Conn. (UPI) — Black Panther George Sams Jr. testified he was ordered by national Panther headquarters to shoot the late Fred Hampton, then chairman of the Chicago branch of the party.

However, Sams, who already has pleaded guilty to second degree murder in the death of another Panther, yesterday said he met with William M. Kunstler, attorney for the Chicago Seven, en route to carry out the order, and was told "I would be suspected if I stood around."

Testifying for the state in the murder conspiracy trial of Panther Lonnie McCluskey, Sams said he left Connecticut after the slaying of Alex Rack-

## COMMENTS:

The Black Panthers, the SDS, the Klu Klux Klan, the White Panthers, the Nazi Party, Etc. Etc. and all other Hate and groups Another Side is against. But we at Another Side have a strong opinion against the Black Panthers and their followers and supporters.

The Black Panthers teach hate and murder, and we don't want them in Our community. They are trying every day to set up and set up big in Our area. We from Another Side are fighting them. It won't be a small operation if they do, and it will be from some of the white structure's money. The Panthers are well-organized in both large cities and in the suburbs.

In these news clippings you can see and read about the Panthers and their operations. Their bail bond money, where do they get all of it — not from the Black man, because the Black man is not going to put that kind of money out on another Black man — Panther or minister. See I know, I am a Negro or Black man myself. Your white structure money that you think is going for good cause ends up in the Panther's hands or bank account. They get set up in our cities and use some program such as the breakfast program as a front. Then, they get in with the hippies or yuppies in the S.D.S. to help them in their cause so that they can send the money to their headquarters where they use it to finance their program of buying guns, getting out of the country, getting out of jail, and paying lawyers' fees.

I, Ike Thomas, spent 3 days with a committee meeting in

60

100 - 449606-2491



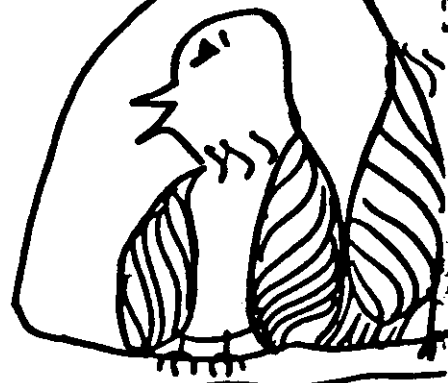
↑  
Charlene Mitchell  
COMMUNIST CANDIDATE  
FOR PRESIDENT IN 1968.

TIM STEUER  
ERIC DIER  
NEWIMA

DO  
TO  
ANGE



\$  
RUBBE  
CAN



ROUTED IN ENVELOPE

2/12/71

Airtel

EX-100

1  
1

To: SAC, Pittsburgh (100-15780)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurlet 2/2/71.

You are authorized to obtain a six-month subscription to the Black Panther Party (BPP) newspaper under a fictitious name for "Another Side," a newsletter published in Pittsburgh which is widely distributed in Negro areas of that city.

You are also authorized to forward the proposed letter set forth in referenced letter to "Another Side" at its Post Office Box. Insure paper and envelope utilized are plain and available for purchase through sales outlets in Pittsburgh.

Insure subscription and letter cannot be traced to Bureau or Bureau employees.

Bureau should be advised of any pertinent results.

MAILED 12  
FEB 12 1971  
COMM-FBI  
WHA:sef (5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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OTHERWISE.

NOTE:

COINTELPRO is code word for counterintelligence program. Relet enclosed a copy of "Another Side" which is very critical of BPP, its tactics, its preaching of hatred and violence and indicates "Another Side" is fighting endeavors to organize a group in Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



Airtel to Pittsburgh  
Re: COINTELPRO - Black Extremists  
100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

requested it be authorized to obtain a six-month subscription to the BPP newspaper under fictitious name for "Another Side" so it would receive on a current basis information revealing violent nature of that group. It proposed a letter be directed to "Another Side" under a fictitious name in which writer would indicate he has obtained a subscription so editors would have an up-to-date record of the revolutionary ravings of BPP and the newsletter could utilize such quotes to continue its expose of that violence-prone group. Pittsburgh desires to use a fictitious name in sending the letter as this enables it to establish contact with the newsletter as it was felt this contact might be useful in future counterintelligence proposals.

This is actually a follow-through on previous counterintelligence operations wherein the editor's of "Another Side" have been furnished information revealing violent and revolutionary nature of BPP in the hope they would publish such data in the newsletter. They have repeatedly published articles critical of black militants, particularly BPP and undoubtedly these articles have contributed to the problems of those endeavoring to organize a BPP group in Pittsburgh. Despite outside help the Pittsburgh group has not gotten off the ground. There is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : *WAS/C* SAC, MOBILE (157-2578)(P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

DATE: 2/4/71

Reference is made to Bureau airtel, 1/13/71.

Eighteen copies of the article which appeared in "THE HILLTOP" has been anonymously mailed to selected individuals and organizations within the Mobile Division. Agents have been alerted to note any results from these mailings and any such information received will be furnished to the Bureau.

The letters sent to Mobile, Alabama, were placed in the mails at Montgomery, Alabama. The letters sent to Montgomery and other areas of Alabama were placed in the mails in Mobile, Alabama. All were mailed in stamped envelopes purchased at the local post office.

Following are the addresses to which this article was sent:

Editor  
Vanguard Newspaper  
University of South Alabama  
307 Gaillard Drive  
Mobile, Alabama 36608

Editor  
Rearguard Newspaper  
P.O. Box 8115  
Mobile, Alabama 36608

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Black Student Union  
University of South Alabama  
Faculty Court West, Room 14  
Mobile, Alabama 36608

105

REC 11

(2) - Bureau  
2 - Mobile  
JTB:alb  
(4)

12 FEB 8 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.

64



MO-157-2578

Mobile Beacon Incorporated  
2311 Costarides Street  
Mobile, Alabama 36617

Springhillian Newspaper  
Springhill College  
4307 Old Shell Road  
Mobile, Alabama 36608

Editor  
Auburn Plainsman  
Auburn University  
Auburn, Alabama 35830

Auburn Human Rights Forum  
Auburn University  
Route 3 Box 214  
Auburn, Alabama 36830

[REDACTED]  
Alabama State University

[REDACTED]  
Montgomery, Alabama 36101

Hornet Tribune Newspaper  
Alabama State University  
1100 South Jackson Avenue  
Montgomery, Alabama 36101

[REDACTED]  
1100 South Jackson Avenue  
Montgomery, Alabama 36101

[REDACTED]  
Lomax-Hannon Junior College  
South Conecuh Street  
Greenville, Alabama 36037

[REDACTED]  
Mobile State Junior College  
[REDACTED]  
Mobile, Alabama 36603

NO 157-2578


Editor  
Campus Digest  
Tuskegee Institute  
Tuskegee, Alabama 36088

President  
Student Government Association  
Tuskegee Institute  
Tuskegee, Alabama 36088

The Progressive Times  
Tuskegee, Alabama 36083

The Tuskegee News  
Tuskegee, Alabama 36083

Editor  
The Tropolitan  
Troy State University  
Troy, Alabama 36081

  
Student Affairs Office  
Troy State University  
Troy, Alabama 36081

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 2/5/71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RII

ReBuAirtel, 1/13/71.

The following newspapers were each sent one copy of the article appearing in Howard University's student newspaper "The Hilltop":

"San Francisco Examiner" - San Francisco, California.  
"San Jose Post-Record" - San Jose, California.  
"Independent Journal" - San Rafael, California.  
"Santa Clara Journal and News" - Sunnyvale, California.  
"Palo Alto Times" - Palo Alto, California  
"Oakland Tribune" - Oakland, California  
"Berkeley Daily Gazette" - Berkeley, California  
"The Daily Pioneer" - Hayward, California  
"The Daily Californian" - University of California, Berkeley, California.  
"Stanford Daily" - Stanford University, Palo Alto, California.  
"San Francisco Foghorn" - University of San Francisco, San Francisco, California.  
"The Santa Claran" - University of Santa Clara, Santa Clara, California.  
"San Matean" - College of San Mateo, San Mateo, California.  
"The Daily Startan" - San Jose State College, San Jose, California.  
"The Cossack" - Sonoma State College, Rohnert Park, California.  
"City on the Hill Press" - University of California, Santa Cruz, California.  
"El Yanguí" - Monterey Peninsula College, Monterey, California.

2 - Bureau (RI)  
1 - San Francisco  
LSE:jab  
(3)

ST 101

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FEB 8 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

67

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 3 1971

TELETYPE

NR 008 SF CODE

7 23 PM NITEL 2/3/71 MCC

TO DIRECTOR (100-448006)

NEW YORK (100-161993)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-681) 2P

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM - BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GR  
COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMIST, RACIAL MATTERS.

SAN FRANCISCO BELIEVES THE RECENT ARTICLE BY MICHAEL  
ZVERIN IN THE NEW YORK UNDERGROUND PAPER "THE VILLAGE VOICE"  
CONCERNING ELDRIDGE CLEAVER'S STATEMENT CONCERNING TIMOTHY  
LEARY AND CONDEMNATION OF JERRY RUBIN AND OTHER NEW LEFT LEADERS  
COULD BE EXPLOITED AS FOLLOWS:

CLEAVER REFERRED TO RUBIN AS A "SILLY PSYCHEDELIC". IT  
IS NOTED THAT [REDACTED] WHO INCORPORATED STRONGHOLD  
CONSOLIDATED PRODUCTIONS INC., (SCPI), WHICH IS THE FINANCIAL  
DIVISION OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), ALSO HANDLES  
BUSINESS MATTERS FOR JERRY RUBIN AND HAS FORMED A NONE-PROFIT  
CORPORATION ON BEHALF OF RUBIN. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT COOPERATIVE  
END PAGE ONE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Walters	_____
Mr. Soyars	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

9 FEB 9 1971

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

58 FEB 17 1971

PAGE TWO

NEWS SERVICES BE ADVISED OF THE FACT THAT [REDACTED] HANDLES BOTH BPP MATTERS AND MATTERS RELATING TO JERRY RUBIN AND THE NEW LEFT.

THUS AN ARTICLE POINTING THIS OUT COULD BE EMBARRASSING TO

[REDACTED] BECAUSE OF THE RECENT CRITICISM LEVIED AGAINST RUBIN AND THE NEW LEFT BY CLEAVER. SUCH AN ARTICLE MIGHT ALSO CAUSE A FURTHER RIFT BETWEEN HUEY NEWTON AND ELDRIDGE CLEAVER SINCE IT HAS BEEN REPORTED THAT NEWTON WAS DISTURBED OVER THE PROPOSED RELEASE OF THE CLEAVER TAPE, CONTENTS OF WHICH WAS REPORTED IN "THE VILLAGE VOICE".

SAN FRANCISCO RECOMMENDS BUREAU GIVE ABOVE SUGGESTION CONSIDERATION. SUCH AN ARTICLE WOULD BE NEWSWORTHY AT THIS TIME IN VIEW OF A RECENT NEW YORK POST ARTICLE ABOUT [REDACTED] CONNECTION WITH THE PANTHERS.

END

HOLD

69

F B I

Date: 2/1/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, JACKSON (100-980) (P)

COINTELPRO -  
BLACK EXTREMISTS  
(BLACK REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE,  
TOUGALOO COLLEGE,  
TOUGALOO, MISSISSIPPI,  
2/18-21/71)  
RM

The following is a counterintelligence proposal  
of the Jackson Division:

1) Background:

The Black Unity Coordinating Committee (BUCC)  
is a black nationalist student group of about fifteen  
members which was formed at Tougaloo College during the  
current 1970-71 school year.

██████████ Negro male, ██████████  
██████████ who has recently been associating very  
closely with ██████████ Negro male, in his  
mid-thirties, who is currently attempting to promote a  
boycott and demonstrations in the Jackson area to  
support Negro demands.

ST-100 100-448006-2175  
(2) - Bureau (RM) REC-49  
2 - Jackson  
TF:mif  
(4)

14 FEB 4 1971

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

70



[REDACTED] is on the Jackson Division Agitator Index; in the past he has been in contact with Black Panther Party headquarters seeking to obtain BPP speakers to come to Mississippi. He has been unsuccessful in these efforts to date.

[REDACTED] announced in late 1970 that BUCC would sponsor a Black Revolutionary Conference at Tougaloo College during the period 2/18-21/71 and would seek black extremist speakers from several national black extremist groups to appear at Tougaloo College in connection with this conference.

[REDACTED] has recently indicated support with [REDACTED] regarding the conference and obtaining out-of-state speakers of black extremist notoriety.

Tougaloo College in the past has been a staging area for civil rights and militant Negro activities; several black extremist conferences have been held at Tougaloo College in recent years, attended by national black extremists.

The above information has been obtained independently by several Jackson informants.

2) SAC Contact:

[REDACTED] Jackson, Mississippi, has in the recent past cooperated with and assisted the Bureau on a confidential basis by printing articles showing black extremist groups and New Left elements in an unfavorable light. Articles and series of articles which he has done in this regard in the past have been very instrumental in the disbandment and disruption of various extremist groups and conferences in Mississippi in the past.

The Jackson Daily News is the only daily evening newspaper in Mississippi distributed throughout the entire state, and it has the highest circulation of newspapers in the state.

3) Proposal:

It is proposed that [REDACTED] be contacted confidentially regarding preparing an article regarding the forthcoming Black Revolutionary Conference at Tougaloo College highlighting the propensity for violence of any proposed extremist speakers as well as information regarding the conference sponsors.

If approved, [REDACTED] would be requested to publish the article prior to the conference with follow-up articles during and after the conference as appropriate.

If approved, precautions will be taken to insure that the Bureau's interest will be protected in this regard.

Information provided to [REDACTED] if approved, will be of a nature that will not compromise any Jackson informants and in some cases will be public-source type data.

4) Recommendation:

It is recommended that the above proposal be approved for enactment by the Bureau at an early date.

Jackson requests a reply in this matter if possible by 2/12/71 so that sufficient time will be available to prepare material, contact [REDACTED] and have additional time for preparation and publication.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/8/71

1 - Mr. T. F. Bishop

1 - [REDACTED]

1 - [REDACTED]

airtel

REC-49

To: SAC, Jackson (100-980)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 2/1/71

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
(BLACK REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE,  
TOUGALOO COLLEGE,  
TOUGALOO, MISSISSIPPI,  
2/18-21/71)

Reurairtel 2/1/71.

Authority granted for you to initiate proposed counterintelligence measures set forth in referenced airtel. Be certain this matter is handled discreetly with [REDACTED]. Assure any material furnished to [REDACTED] is public source type material which would in no way compromise any of your sources. Remind [REDACTED] that all information furnished him by the FBI is furnished on a confidential basis.

Bureau should be advised of tangible results.

RLR:cal  
(6)

MAILED 12

FEB - 8 1971

NOTE:

COMM-FBI

The Black Unity Coordinating Committee (BUCC), Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, plans to hold a black revolutionary conference at the college on 2/18-21/71. Last day of conference coincides with Malcolm X's birthday which is February 21. Leaders of this conference are in contact with Black Panther Party (BPP) headquarters and are endeavoring to have BPP speakers attend as well as black extremist speakers from several national black extremist groups. The BUCC, sponsors of this conference, consists of 16 students at Tougaloo College, some of whom are close to known black extremists. Specific purpose of conference unknown to date but in view of college's past activities as a staging area for civil rights and black militant activities, its purpose appears aimed at fomenting black student unrest and disunity. [REDACTED] Jackson, Mississippi, is [REDACTED]

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Walters  
Mr. Soyars  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

FEB 11 1971  
MAIL ROOM ☐

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

Airtel to Jackson  
Re: Cointelpro - Black Extremists  
100-448006

NOTE (Continued):

an established contact of the Jackson Office who has been used in counterintelligence matters successfully in the past and articles written by him concerning the BPP are credited with the disbandment of the BPP in Mississippi. Jackson Office proposes that [REDACTED] in cooperation with the Bureau, prepare a series of adverse newspaper articles concerning captioned conference to be released prior to and at conclusion of conference which should serve to disrupt and reduce the effectiveness of such a conference. Newspaper articles will highlight propensity for violence of extremist speakers at conference. [REDACTED] successful utilization in the past assures this counterintelligence proposal can be executed without danger of embarrassment to the Bureau.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448005)

DATE: 2/8/71

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (157-2371)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel, dated 1/13/71, captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are two copies of a list of newspapers and organizations which were sent copies of an article appearing in the Howard University student newspaper, "The Hilltop".

Precautions were taken to insure the mailing could not be traced to the Bureau and as of this date, no positive results have been recorded. It is anticipated that positive results may still be achieved in the near future, and as such results are noted, the Bureau, San Francisco, and WFO will be apprised of those results.

2- Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)  
1- Philadelphia  
RDB:caq  
(3)

EX-111

REC-76

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

FEB 9 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.



FEB 19 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

75

Pennsylvania Military College  
Black Student Union  
Chester, Pennsylvania 19000

West Chester State Teachers College  
Black Student Union  
West Chester, Pennsylvania 19380

Montgomery County Community College  
Black Student League  
Conshohocken, Pennsylvania 19428

Bucknell University  
Association of Blacks for Progress  
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania 17837

Franklin and Marshall College  
Afro-American Society  
Lancaster, Pennsylvania 17600

Drexel University  
Drexel Afro-American Society  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Swarthmore College  
Swarthmore Afro-American Student Society  
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania 19081

Dickenson College  
Afro-American Society  
Carlisle, Pennsylvania 17013

Villanova University  
Black Student League  
Villanova, Pennsylvania 19085

University of Pennsylvania  
Students for an Afro-American Society  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Daily News  
Editorial Desk  
400 North Broad Street  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19130

Philadelphia Inquirer  
Editorial Desk  
400 North Broad Street  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19130

The Bulletin  
Editorial Desk  
30th and Market Streets  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Philadelphia Tribune  
Editorial Desk  
522 South 16th Street  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19146

Daily Pennsylvanian  
University of Pennsylvania  
34th and Chestnut Streets  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Temple News  
Student Facilities  
Temple University  
13th and Montgomery  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122

Villanova University  
Villanova, Pennsylvania 19085

Attention: "Villanovan"

University of Pennsylvania  
Ogontz Campus  
Ogontz News  
Lares Building  
1600 Woodland Road,  
Abington, Pennsylvania 19001

Lincolnian  
Lincoln University  
York, Pennsylvania 19352

Cheney Record  
Cheney State College  
Cheney, Pennsylvania 19319

Attention: Jerry Wright

77

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

CODE

1/29/71

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

TELETYPE

URGENT

JAN 29 1971

4:39 p.m.

TELETYPE

TO SACS, NEW YORK (100-161993)  
SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. C.D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - EXPULSIONS,  
RACIAL MATTERS.

RESFTEL JANUARY TWENTY SEVEN, ONE NINE SEVEN ONE, AND  
NYTEL JANUARY TWENTY EIGHT, ONE NINE SEVEN ONE. EXPULSION  
ACTION BY HUEY P. NEWTON AGAINST "NEW YORK TWO ONE" WILL  
UNDOUBTEDLY APPEAR IN BPP NEWSPAPER WHERE IT WILL BE MOST  
EFFECTIVE. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER KNOWN TO BE SYMPATHETIC TO  
"NEW YORK TWO ONE" AND ALREADY AT ODDS WITH NEWTON. ACCORDINGLY,  
BUREAU CONCURS WITH RECOMMENDATION OF NEW YORK AND FEELS TIMELY  
LETTER FROM "NEW YORK TWO ONE" TO CLEAVER HAS POSSIBILITY  
OF CAUSING GREATEST DISSENSION WITHIN BPP AND AGGRAVATING  
ALREADY STRAINED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEWTON AND CLEAVER.

ST-114

NEW YORK SUTEL CONTEXT OF PROPOSED LETTER FOR BUREAU APPROVAL  
ALONG WITH RECOMMENDATION AS TO WHEN LETTER SHOULD BE SENT CLEAVER.

ABF:bjr  
(7)

FEB 10 1971

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

54 FEB 12 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

- Tolson
- Sullivan
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Wick
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

RECEIVED  
FBI OFFICE

WES

he

he

WBS



TELETYPE TO SACS, NEW YORK AND SAN FRANCISCO  
RE: COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)- EXPULSIONS  
100-448006

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. C. D. Brennan dated 1/28/71, captioned as above, prepared by ABF:drl.

"COINTELPRO" is approved code name for Counter-intelligence Program.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 2/9/71

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO -  
BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RM

Re Bureau airtel to Chicago dated 1/27/71;  
Chicago airtel to Bureau dated 1/19/71.

Chicago has prepared and mailed the  
fictitiously signed letter to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER as  
set forth in referenced Chicago airtel. Precautions  
were taken to insure that this material could not be  
traced to the Bureau.

The Bureau and interested offices will be  
advised of any positive results ascertained as a  
result of this action.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco (157-601) (Info) (RM)  
1 - Chicago

JPM:tlb  
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

11 FEB 10 1971

MAILED 11 FEB 1971

55 FEB 18 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



2/9/71

Airtel

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

To: SAC, New York (100-161140)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. W. P. Dix
- 1 - Mr. W. H. Atkinson
- 1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan
- 1 - Mr. A. B. Fulton
- 1 - Mr. P. E. Nugent

b1

b1

b1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7D In addition and by separate communication, New York should advise of the termination of coverage provided [REDACTED] and make appropriate recommendation on institution of similar coverage in Harlem.

1 - San Francisco (Enclosure)

REC-47

EX-103

FEB 10 1971

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
ADVISED BY SLIP(S)  
DATE 1/17/77

aw  
lfe  
Rep

- Tolson
- Sullivan
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Brennan, C.D.
- Callahan
- Casper
- Callahan
- DeLoach
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Tavel
- Walters
- Woychik
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

PER: fb (14)

MAILED 12

FEB - 9 1971

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. C. D. Brennan dated 2/8/71, captioned as above and prepared by PER:fb.

Classified by 3676 JRL  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

B2 FEB 18 1971

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

1-1974  
4477

re  
P  
W

FBI

Date: 1/26/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTELAIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
 FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)  
 SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMIST  
 RM

*Notionalist - H. L. Co.*

On Bureau authority 11/6/70, an anonymous letter was mailed to the owner of the premises at 127 Downey St., San Francisco, Calif., advising him that the premises was being used as a Black Panther Party (BPP) pad.

Recent visual checks by Agents at 127 Downey St., indicates that a BPP Breakfast Program is no longer being operated.

*[Redacted]* reported that the BPP Breakfast Program and the BPP Liberation School was no longer in operation at 127 Downey St., and that the negroes formerly residing there had recently moved out.

On 1/26/71, it was ascertained that the unlisted telephone number at the address 127 Downey St., had been discontinued.

- ② - Bureau (RM)  
 3 - San Francisco  
   1 - 157-601  
   1 - 157-3871 (LIBERATION SCHOOL)  
   1 - 157-3873 (BREAKFAST PROGRAM)

LSB/jr  
 (5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
 OTHERWISE.

Approved: *[Signature]*  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

NR 005 SF CODE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 4 1971

11:55 AM URGENT 2/4/71 MCC

TO DIRECTOR (105-165706)

NEW HAVEN

NEW YORK

TELETYPE

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-2874) 5P

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - PUBLIC APPEARANCES, RM - PBB.

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS, RM.

*Black Panther Party (BPP) - Public Appearances, RM - PBB.*

RENHTEL TO BUREAU DATED FEBRUARY THREE LAST.

SAN FRANCISCO IS OF THE OPINION THAT THE PROPOSALS ADVANCED BY THE NEW HAVEN OFFICE TO ATTEMPT TO PUBLICLY EMBARRASS HUEY NEWTON ARE EXCELLENT AND IT IS SUGGESTED THAT THE BUREAU APPROVE THIS PLAN.

IF APPROVAL IS GRANTED IT IS SUGGESTED BY SAN FRANCISCO, AFTER CAREFUL CONSIDERATION, THAT EFFORTS BE MADE TO UTILIZE THE FOLLOWING PREPARED QUESTIONS WHICH ARE BELIEVED TO PHRASED IN SUCH A WAY THAT NEWTON WILL BE CONSIDERABLE DISTRESSED AND EXBARRASSED AND YET BE PLACED IN A POSITION THAT HE HAS TO

END PAGE ONE

*approved by tel  
to SF & NH.  
2/4/71  
mld*

100-111-1000

105-165706

NOT RECORDED  
200 FEB 18 1971

ORIGINAL FILED IN

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OTHERWISE.

83

PAGE TWO

FURNISH SOME INFORMATION IN RESPONSE. IT IS BELIEVED THAT THE QUESTIONS THEMSELVES, AND ANY SUBSEQUENT RESPONSES BY NEWTON HOWEVER EVASIVE THEY MAY BE, WILL SERVE TO FURTHER EXPLOIT THE APPARENT RIFT EXISTING AT THIS TIME BETWEEN ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AND NEWTON. FURTHER IF IT IS POSSIBLE TO UTILIZE ALL OF THIS MATERIAL THE QUESTIONS AND RESPONSES OF NEWTON SHOULD FURTHER ALIENATE ANY REMAINING BPP RELATIONS WITH THE NEW LEFT AND SHOULD ALSO CAUSE A STRAINED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEWTON AND [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] STRONGHOLD CONSOLIDATED PRODUCTIONS, INC., (SCPI).

IF UTILIZED IT IS SUGGESTED THAT THE QUESTIONS BE WORKED IN AS BEST POSSIBLE ON THE PROGRAM IN THE ORDER SET FORTH BY SAN FRANCISCO.

(ONE) MR. NEWTON, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER HAS LONG BEEN KNOWN AS THE MOST EFFECTIVE AND ARTICULATE SPOKESMAN OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY. IN VIEW OF THIS DO YOU THINK CLEAVER MADE A MISTAKE IN GOING TO ALGERIA?

END PAGE TWO

84

PAGE THREE

(TWO) MR. NEWTON, THERE HAS RECENTLY BEEN AN ARTICLE IN THE NEW YORK VILLAGE VOICE, ISSUE OF JANUARY TWENTYEIGHT SEVENTYONE, IN WHICH ELDRIDGE CLEAVER VICIOUSLY ATTACKED JERRY RUBIN AND OTHER NEW LEFT SPOKESMEN, STATING THAT THE BLACK PANTHER WAS BREAKING ALL TIES WITH HIM AND PEOPLE OF THIS TYPE.

IN REGARD TO THIS ARTICLE DID YOU PERSONALLY HAVE ANY ADVANCE NOTICE OF CLEAVER'S INTENTIONS IN STATING THIS APPARENT NEW POLICY OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND WAS THIS POSITION TAKEN BY CLEAVER APPROVED OF AND FORMULATED BY YOU?

(THREE) NOW MR. NEWTON, I DIRECT YOUR ATTENTION TO A RECENT ARTICLE IN THE NEW YORK POST REGARDING [REDACTED], A NEW YORK ATTORNEY WHO HEADS SOME CORPORATION CALLED STRONGHOLD WHICH IS ALLEGED TO REPRESENT THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

WHAT EXACTLY IS [REDACTED] POSITION? IS HE A PARTY MEMBER OR A PAID EMPLOYEE? DOES HE CONTROL BLACK PANTHER PARTY RESOURCES?

END PAGE THREE

85

PAGE FOUR

IN THIS ARTICLE IT WAS STATED THAT [REDACTED] WAS A COMMUNIST AND ALSO SEEMED TO BE SYMPATHETIC TO THE NEW LEFT. IN VIEW OF THESE FACTS HOW WILL YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH [REDACTED] BE AFFECTED BY CLEAVER'S NEW POLICY INASMUCH AS THERE APPEARS TO BE SERIOUS GROUNDS FOR CONTRADICTIONS HERE?

(FOUR) MR. NEWTON, WHEN YOU WERE RELEASED FROM PRISON YOU OFFERED TO SEND TROOPS TO VIETNAM TO AID THE VIET CONG. DID ANYBODY VOLUNTEER TO GO AND DID YOU SEND THEM?

THE ORDER NOTED HAS BEEN SUGGESTED AS IT IS BELIEVED BY SAN FRANCISCO THAT THE MOST EFFECTIVE MEASURE TO BE UTILIZED SHOULD BE AN EFFORT TO FURTHER EXPLOIT THE CLEAVER-NEWTON RIFT. ACCORDINGLY THE QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN SET OUT IN THE FORM NOTED IN VIEW OF THE POSSIBILITY THAT NEWTON, AFTER THE FIRST QUESTION OF THIS TYPE, MAY GO INTO A LENGTHY TIRADE AN AN UNCALLED FOR DISSERTATION ON PARTY POLICY AND HIS BELIEFS AND OTHER QUESTIONS MIGHT BE IMPOSSIBLE. IT IS NOTED THAT NEWTON HAS PREVIOUSLY INDICATED HE WOULD NOT HESITATE TO EXPEL THE

END PAGE FOUR

86



PAGE FIVE

ENTIRE ALGERIAN GROUP AND IF SUFFICIENTLY AROUSED BY QUESTIONS  
OF THE TYPE HE MAY POSSIBLY TAKE SUCH ACTION. FURTHER  
ALIENATION OF THE NEW LEFT AND A RIFT WITH LUBELL WOULD SEEM  
TO BE SECONDARY TO THIS POSSIBILITY.

END

RSP FBI WASH DC

87

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 2/9/71

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RM

ReBuairtel to Atlanta dated 1/13/71.

Enclosures with referenced airtel have been mailed to the following:

"The Alethia", DePaul University, 849 West Dickens, Chicago, 60614

"Tempe", Chicago State College, 6800 South Stewart Avenue, Chicago, 60621

CHARLES G. HURST, President, Malcolm X College, 1757 W. Harrison, Chicago, Illinois 60612

Rev. JESSE JACKSON, "Operation Breadbasket", 366 East 47th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60653

"Daily Defender", 2400 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60616

Black Student Union, Malcolm X College, 1757 West Harrison, Chicago, Illinois 60612

"The Torch", Roosevelt University, 420 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60605

Black Student Association, Roosevelt University, 420 South Michigan Avenue, 60605

2 - Bureau (RM)

1 - San Francisco (157-601) (Info) (RM)

1 - WFO (Info) (RM)

1 - Chicago

JPM/nan  
(5)

REC-71

FEB 11 1971



58 FEB 23 1971

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OTHERWISE

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 157-2209

Afro-American Cultural Organization, 225  
Normal Road, DeKalb, Illinois, 60115

"The Northeastern Print", Northeastern Illinois  
State College, 5500 North St. Louis, Chicago, Illinois, 60625

"The Chicago Illini", 1001 West Van Buren,  
Chicago, Illinois 60607

"The Maroon", 1212 East 59th Street, Chicago,  
Illinois, 60637

Black Student Alliance, Central YMCA  
College, 211 West Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60601

Loyola News, Loyola University, 6535 North  
Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois, 60626

Student Publications, Olive-Hardy College,  
10001 South Woodlawn, Chicago, Illinois, 60628

"The Word", Mayfair College, 4626 North  
Knox, Chicago, Illinois, 60630

"The Temple", Kennedy-King College, 7047  
South Stewart, Chicago, Illinois, 60621

"Loop Hole", Loop College, 64 East Lake,  
Chicago, Illinois, 60601

"The Liberator", Malcolm X College, 1757  
West Harrison, Chicago, Illinois 60612

"Wright College News", Wright College, 3400  
North Austin, Chicago, Illinois, 60634

CG 157-2209

"The Northern Star", Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois, 60115

Afro-American Student Alliance, Loyola University, 820 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, 60611

Black Student Union, Prairie State College, 10th and Chicago Road, Chicago Heights, Illinois, 60411

"Daily Northwestern", 2016 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Illinois, 60201

[REDACTED] Mundelein College, 6363 North Sheridan Road, Chicago, Illinois, 60626

Precautions were taken to insure that this material could not be traced to the Bureau.

The Bureau and interested offices will be advised of any positive results ascertained as a result of this action.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 2/8/71

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-531)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

ReBuairtel to Atlanta, et al, dated 1/13/71 and captioned as above.

Per instructions referenced airtel, copies of the article which appeared in the Howard University student newspaper, "The Hilltop," were anonymously mailed to the following newspapers, organizations and universities:

"The Drum"  
C/O WBUR-FM  
Boston University School of Communications  
630 Commonwealth Avenue  
Boston, Mass.

Editor, "Boston Globe"  
135 William T. Morrissey Blvd.  
Dorchester, Mass.

Editor, "Boston Herald Traveler"  
300 Harrison Avenue  
Boston, Mass.

"The Bay State Banner"  
25 Ruggles Street  
Roxbury, Mass.

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Harvard Crimson"  
14 Plympton Street  
Cambridge, Mass.

"The News"  
775 Commonwealth Avenue  
Boston, Mass.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
  - 2 - San Francisco (RM)
  - 1 - WFO (RM)
  - 1 - Boston
- REL:kl  
(6)

61 FEB 24 1971



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FEB 12 1971

91

"The Observer"  
Curtis Hall  
Tufts University  
Medford, Mass.

"The Old Mole"  
2 Brookline Street  
Cambridge, Mass.

Black United Front  
70 Warren Street  
Roxbury, Mass.

New Urban League  
100 Warren Street  
Roxbury, Mass.

"The Justice"  
Brandeis University Student Center  
415 South Street  
Waltham, Mass.

"The Heights"  
Boston College  
Chestnut Hill  
Newton, Mass.

Project Concern  
63 West Newton Street  
Boston, Mass.

Republic of New Africa  
70 Warren Street  
Roxbury, Mass.

Office of the President  
University of New Hampshire  
Durham, N. H.

Office of the President  
University of Massachusetts  
Amherst, Mass.

Office of the President  
Tufts University  
Medford, Mass.

Office of the President  
Northeastern University  
Huntington Avenue  
Boston, Mass.

Office of the President  
MIT  
Cambridge, Mass.

Office of the President  
Boston University  
Commonwealth Avenue  
Boston, Mass.

Office of the President  
Southeastern Mass. University  
North Dartmouth, Mass.

F B I

Date: 2/4/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6109) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RM COUNTELL INTELLIGENCE

Enclosed for the Bureau and San Francisco is one copy each of a letter reportedly from BPP National Headquarters, concerning the Winston-Salem, N. C., NCCF.

The enclosure was received 2/3/71 by [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] reported he received it on the same date from [REDACTED], and the envelope, which was partially torn, had in the upper left corner, "Ministry of Information, Oakland, Cal." and was postmarked 1/28/71 at Milpitas, Calif.

[REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] is the mother of [REDACTED] who have been active in the organizing of a BPP Community Center in High Point, N. C. [REDACTED] explained she had no information as to why or to whom this communication was sent.

EX-114 REC-33

The attention of the Bureau and San Francisco is directed to Charlotte report of [REDACTED] dated 1/22/71, captioned, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), RM; SMITH

2-Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)

2-San Francisco (Enc. 1) (RM)

5-Charlotte [REDACTED]

THG:tld

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

FEB 9 1971

Approved: [REDACTED]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per

RACIAL INT. DIV.

94



F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

CE 157-6109

ACT OF 1940; SEDITION CONSPIRACY; REBELLION AND INSURRECTION." Pages of 142 and 142a of this report consist of an envelope and letter from the National Headquarters, BPP. The enclosure appears to follow the format of that letter. It is noted this letter was received 1/15/71 from the Winston-Salem, N. C., PD.

The enclosure is submitted to the Bureau and San Francisco for information purposes, it being noted that the possibility exists some other law enforcement agency is conducting counterintelligence operations concerning the BPP in High Point and Winston-Salem, N. C.

Charlotte will make discreet inquiries and attempt to determine the source of this letter; however, due to the nature of the subject matter, it would appear unwise to make open solicitation for information.

Any information obtained will be furnished to the Bureau and San Francisco. In addition, San Francisco is requested to be alert for information concerning this letter from its sources.

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

95

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS**

1048 Potrero St. Oakland, Calif.  
Office of Ministry of Information  
465-5047/48/49

**CENTRAL COMMITTEE**

Minister of Defense  
**HUEY P. NEWTON**

Chairman  
**ROBERT B. SEALE**

Minister of Education  
**ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**

Chief of Staff  
**DAVID WILLIARD**

Field Marshall  
**DAVE COX**

Minister of Economics  
**RAY "MAGNUS" NEWITT**

Communications Secretary  
**KATHLEEN CLEAVER**

Minister of Culture  
**EMORY DOUGLAS**

Minister of Finance

Minister of Foreign Affairs

Minister of Justice

Prime Minister

Winston-Salem, North Carolina N.C.C.F.

Re: Disbanding of National Committee to Combat  
Fascism, Community Center(s).

The Black Panther Party has learned that one  
of the so-called leaders in the N.C.C.F. Chapter  
Larry Donnell Little (Omowale) is hereby found to  
be a coward, a liar, and worst of all, a thief of  
the peoples faith.

Under these circumstances, the Black Panther Party  
feels that disbandment of the N.C.C.F., can only  
be in order.

100-44800  
*Roosevelt Hilliard*  
Roosevelt Hilliard,  
Assistant Chief of Staff

2202  
*David Hilliard*  
David Hilliard,  
Chief of Staff

*Emory Douglas*  
Emory Douglas,  
Minister of Culture

96

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NR009 NY CODE

FEB 10 1971

347 PM IMMEDIATE 2-10-71 JLV TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR 100-448006

ATT. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161140 4P

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Brennan	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Dalbey	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Walters	✓
Mr. Soyars	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
COINTELPRO-BPP-DISSENTION, RACIAL MATTERS

TELETYPE

RE NEW YORK TEL TO BUREAU, FEBRUARY EIGHT LAST, ENTITLED,  
RACIAL MATTERS  
"BPP-RM"

RE TEL SET FORTH TEXT OF BPP PRESS RELEASE DENOUNCING THE  
FAILURE TO APPEAR OF TWO OF THE BPP TWENTYONE DEFENDANTS  
AT THEIR TRIAL IN <sup>NEW YORK CITY</sup> NYC ON FEBRUARY EIGHT LAST. A TWO PAGE  
ARTICLE CONCERNING AFOREMENTIONED MATTER APPEARED IN FEBRUARY  
TEN INSTANT ISSUE OF "THE NEW YORK TIMES".

NEW YORK PROPOSES UNDER CAPTIONED PROGRAM THAT THE FOLLOWING  
LETTER BE SENT FROM NEW YORK TO HUEY NEWTON AT OAKLAND, CAL..

REC-10

"BROTHER NEWTON; ST 104

FEB 10 1971

WHAT HAVE YOU DONE TO THE BPP SINCE YOUR RELEASE FROM JAIL?"

ENCLOSURE  
"AS AN INTERESTED AND CONCERNED 'WHITE REVOLUTIONARY'"

LET ME ENUMERATE YOUR DEEDS..

"ONE) YOU SUCCEEDED IN SCREWING UP THE REVOLUTIONARY  
PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION LAST NOVEMBER BECAUSE OF  
YOUR LACK OF LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATIONAL ABILITY.

END PAGE ONE

MR. SULLIVAN FOR THE DIRECTOR

5-F  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

PAGE TWO

"AS ONE WHO ATTENDED THAT FIASCO, IT WAS APPARENT THAT THE WHOLE THING WAS MORE DEVOTED TO RAPPING ABOUT IDEOLOGIES THAN IT WAS TO THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION.

"TWO) YOU HAVE OUTDONE THE PIGS AND THOSE OTHER DEFENDERS OF AMERIKKA IN THEIR EFFORTS TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN THE WHITE AND THE BLACK REVOLUTIONARY. YOU HAVE DONE THIS BY YOUR HYSTERICAL REACTION IN EXPELLING THE PANTHER TWENTYONE. THOSE WHO HAD THE STRENGTH TO PRAISE THE WORK AND EFFORTS OF THE WEATHER PEOPLE IN NOT LETTING THEIR OWN ROT IN CONCENTRATION CAMPS WHILE THEIR LEADERS TOUR BABYLON AND EXACT TRIBUTE FROM A BUNCH OF THRILL SEEKING HONKIES.

"THREE) YOU HAVE LET YOURSELF BE TAKEN OVER BY THAT DECREPIT BUNCH OF JEWISH WINDBAGS, THE COMMUNIST PARTY. THIS IS COMMON KNOWLEDGE IN NEW YORK. NOT ONLY DO YOU GET YOURSELF A SHYSTER JEW LAWYER TO SET UP 'A CORPORATION' FOR YOU SO THAT YOU CAN LIVE LIKE 'KING HUEY' BUT YOU PERMIT THAT 'HANDKERCHIEF HEAD COMMUNIST' HENRY WINSTON TO STATE THAT BROTHER ELDRIDGE IS 'IGNORANT OF WHAT IS GOING ON IN AMERIKKA', AND YOU DON'T EVEN MAKE A REPLY.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

"FOUR) FINALLY, BROTHER NEWTON, YOU HAVE CREATED AN IMPOSSIBLE SITUATION AMONG WHITE AND BLACK REVOLUTIONARIES IN NEW YORK BY YOUR MOST RECENT ACT OF DENOUNCING BROTHERS [REDACTED] FOR THEIR ESCAPE FROM CERTAIN LYNCHING AT THE HANDS OF PIG JUDGE MURTAUGH. ARE YOU FRIGHTENED THAT BROTHERS [REDACTED] WILL ESCAPE BABYLON AND TELL BROTHER ELDRIDGE WHAT A MESS YOU HAVE MADE OF THINGS? ARE YOU TOO TIRED AND BORED OF YOUR COMMUNIST FRIENDS AND THEIR STALINISM TO RECOGNIZE THE HEROIC ACTS OF TWO TRUE REVOLUTIONARIES OR ARE YOU MORE A LUMPEN THAN A LEADER OF LUMPEN?

"BROTHER NEWTON, HOW STUPID THE WORDS 'FREE HUEY' SOUND TODAY.

"WE THE BLACK AND WHITE REVOLUTIONARIES WORKED TO FREE YOU TO BE OUR LEADER-INSTEAD WE RECEIVED A DAY TIME REVOLUTIONARY, A NIGHT TIME PARTY GOER AND AN AFRICAN FASHION MODEL.

"WE WHO ARE TRULY WORKING FOR REVOLUTION AND TO FREE THE PANTHER TWENTYONE DON'T NEED YOU.

"POWER TO THE PEOPLE

"NAPOLEON R. FULLER,

"YOUTH AGAINST WAR AND FASCISM, NEW YORK CITY"

NEW YORK FEELS THAT PROPOSED LETTER WOULD HAVE THE ADVANTAGE

END PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

OF EXPLOITING THE DICTATORIAL, IRRATIONAL AND CAPRICIOUS  
CHARACTER

OF HUEY NEWTON BY CAPITALIZING AND COMMENTING  
ON A TIMELY AND CONTROVERSIAL EVENT  
WITHIN THE BPP.

NEW YORK FEELS THAT IT WOULD BE OF SOME COUNTERINTELLIGENCE  
VALUE IN ALSO SENDING THE PROPOSED LETTER TO ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
TO MAKE HIM AWARE OF THE FEELINGS OF A RANK AND FILE WHITE  
REVOLUTIONARY.

NEW YORK FURTHER PROPOSES THAT "THE NEW YORK TIMES".  
ARTICLE PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED SHOULD BE REPRODUCED AT NEW YORK AND  
ANONYMOUSLY MAILED TO APPROPRIATE FOLLOWERS OF THE NEW LEFT AND OTHER  
SUBVERSIVE GROUPS.

NO ACTION ON THESE MATTERS WILL BE TAKEN WITHOUT PRIOR  
BUREAU APPROVAL AND NEW YORK WILL REMAIN ALERT FOR FURTHER  
COINTELPROS ON THIS MATTER.

END

LRC FBI WASH DC

CC-MR. BRENNAN

150

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 2/11/71

Attached is counterintelligence proposal in the form of a letter suggested by our New York Office and aimed at exploiting irrational character of Black Panther Party leader Huey P. Newton by driving a wedge between black and white radicals. In view of recent expulsion of dedicated Panthers in New York area by Newton, this proposed letter is particularly timely and has potential of causing dissension between Newton and his communist and white radical supporters.

New York also proposes sending same letter to Black Panther Party leader Eldridge Cleaver in Algiers, which should heighten dissension between Newton and Cleaver. New York further suggests reproducing "New York Times" article on recent expulsions by Newton and sending them to white radicals.

If you approve, New York will be authorized to send both letters and copies of the newspaper article in such a manner that they cannot be traced to the Bureau.

ABF:cb

*A CDB*  
*He*  
*gll*

*OK*  
*PL*

*WLS*

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 -  
1 -  
1 -

2/11/71

CODE

TELETYPE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NITEL

TO SAC NEW YORK

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY - DISSENSION, RACIAL  
MATTERS.

RENYTEL FEBRUARY TEN, LAST.

BUREAU AUTHORITY GRANTED FOR MAILING YOUR COMMUNICATION  
TO HUEY P. NEWTON WITH A COPY THEREOF TO ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
IN AIGIERS. APPROVAL ALSO GRANTED TO REPRODUCING ARTICLE  
IN "THE NEW YORK TIMES" AND MAILING SAME TO NEW LEFT AND  
OTHER WHITE RADICAL GROUPS. INSURE NONE OF THE MAILINGS  
CAN BE TRACED TO THE BUREAU. ADVISE SAN FRANCISCO OF ACTION  
TAKEN AND OF ANY POSITIVE RESULTS.

ABF:bkr  
(5)

NOTE:

"The New York Times" of 2/10/71 contains press  
release by BPP leader Newton in which he expells several  
dedicated Panthers. To further promote dissension and  
distrust within the BPP brought about by Newton's actions,  
New York recommended a letter to Newton ostensibly from a  
white radical group criticizing him. New York also sug-  
gested a copy of the letter be sent to Cleaver thus heightening  
dissension between Cleaver and Newton. New York further sug-  
gested that copies of the newspaper article be reproduced  
and anonymously mailed to New Left and white radical groups.  
Director advised by informative note of New York requests and  
approved same.

7 FEB 17 1971

TELETYPE UNIT

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OTHERWISE.

ST 104  
REC-10

new

50-

102



# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2-4-71

CODE

1 - Mr. G.C. Moore

1 -

1 -

1 -

TELETYPE

NITEL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

TO SACs NEW HAVEN  
SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-448006)

FEB 11 1971

APR 9:04 AM

TELETYPE

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), RACIAL MATTERS.

RENHTEL FEBRUARY THREE LAST, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY - PUBLIC  
APPEARANCES; RM - BPP; COINTELPRO."

AUTHORITY GRANTED NEW HAVEN TO ANONYMOUSLY DIRECT APPROPRIATE  
QUESTIONS TO HUEY P. NEWTON AS SET OUT IN REFERENCED TELETYPE.  
TAKE NECESSARY PRECAUTIONS TO INSURE ACTION CANNOT BE TRACED  
TO THE BUREAU.

SAN FRANCISCO SUBMIT TOPICS WHICH MIGHT BE COVERED IN  
QUESTIONS TO BE DIRECTED TO NEWTON IN THE EVENT HE DOES APPEAR  
ON TV PROGRAM.

WLS:bee (6)

NOTE:

ST. 104

1 FEB 16 1971

Subject cofounder and Minister of Defense of the extremist  
Black Panther Party is on public appearance tour of East Coast.  
On 2-3-71 he cancelled at the last moment an appearance on a  
New Haven, Connecticut, TV program in which questions  
are telephoned to the guests. He may yet appear, possibly  
on 2-5-71. Therefore, New Haven authorized to direct  
questions to him which might embarrass him or put him in  
an unfavorable light. This can be done as callers  
always remain anonymous.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Walters  
Mr. Soyars  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

XEROX

97 FEB 12 1971

TELETYPE

MAIL ROOM ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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OTHERWISE.

103

FBI

Date: 2/9/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
FROM: SAC, BALTIMORE (157-2520) (P\*)  
SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
(BPP) - DISSENSION  
RM  
OO: Baltimore

The following proposal is being submitted aimed at discrediting \_\_\_\_\_ and to measurably discredit \_\_\_\_\_ position nationally with the BPP.

\_\_\_\_\_ is the \_\_\_\_\_ of the BPP Chapter, Baltimore, Md., having taken over the \_\_\_\_\_ of the BPP in Baltimore when \_\_\_\_\_, previous Captain, was taken into custody by a bail bondsman from Los Angeles, California. \_\_\_\_\_ is currently incarcerated in Los Angeles, California.

In addition, sources have advised that \_\_\_\_\_ has been accused of being an informant for some local police agency or a Federal Investigative Agency. General discussion among BPP members indicates dissatisfaction and suspicion towards \_\_\_\_\_ since he has taken over as Captain. Former loyal members have been purged; the BPP in Baltimore has been having financial difficulty.

In view of the above information, Bureau authority is requested to authorize the following anonymous letter be sent to HUEY P. NEWTON, Supreme Commander, BPP, at BPP National Headquarters, San Francisco, California.

② - Bureau (REGIS. MAIL) 100-448006-2206  
2 - Baltimore  
RJS:kav  
(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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OTHERWISE.

REC 11

10 FEB 11 1971

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

RACIAL INT. SECT.

104

"All Power to the People

How long will it take before you brothers at National realize you have a facist military PIG running the Chapter in Baltimore.

[REDACTED] was in the Army and while there made a few friends and continues to feed them some information. The Baltimore Panthers are in trouble brother financially cause [REDACTED] is taking his cut right off the top. [REDACTED] got wisked away to California by a bail bondsman. [REDACTED] strikes again. [REDACTED] urges loyal members, [REDACTED] and others cause he wants to deal with fewer people, I mean write his reports on fewer people for the PIGS.

He purges loyal black brothers and then deals with all the white dudes in Baltimore to the point of spreading VD all over town.

I want somethin done with this bootlikin facist pig nigger and I want it done now.

RIGHT ON"

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1  
1

SAC, Baltimore (157-2520)

2/17/71

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2706

1  
1

REC 11

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
(BPP) - DISSENSION  
RM

ReBAAirtel 2/9/71. Enclosed for San Francisco is one copy of referenced airtel.

Your proposal is presently under consideration along with other proposals submitted by the field. Take no further action until Bureau approval received regarding your suggestion.

1 - San Francisco (Enclosure)

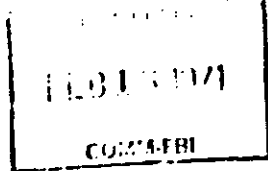
JOI:kdf  
(8)

## NOTE:

Baltimore submitted counterintelligence proposal aimed at discrediting [redacted] of the [redacted], Baltimore, as well as to discredit [redacted] position nationally with BPP. Proposal would be to forward anonymous letter to Huey P. Newton, Supreme Commander, BPP, at BPP National Headquarters, San Francisco, indicating that [redacted] has purged loyal black brothers in Baltimore, and has taken money that should have been sent to national headquarters. This letter would be in a form indicating it came from a dissident BPP member in Baltimore. This proposal is being reviewed along with others recently received from the field for a mass counterintelligence drive against the BPP.

(ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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OTHERWISE.)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Herman, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



97 FEB 18 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 2/11/71

FROM : SAC, TAMPA (157-3213) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO -  
BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Tampa letter to the Bureau, 12/1/70.

On 2/2/71, [REDACTED] University of South Florida (USF), Tampa, Florida, [REDACTED] telephonically advised that on 2/2/71, the AFRO AMERICAN SOCIETY, an authorized student organization at USF, had submitted a memorandum to the Vice President for Student Affairs requesting clearance for [REDACTED] to speak on campus at 2:00 p.m. 2/3/71. [REDACTED] advised that he was aware that [REDACTED] was the head of the JUNTA OF MILITANT ORGANIZATIONS (JOMO), in St. Petersburg, Florida, but he was not sufficiently familiar with [REDACTED] or the JOMO organization to make a determination as to whether clearance should be granted or denied for [REDACTED] to speak on campus.

[REDACTED] was advised that [REDACTED] was the National Chairman of JOMO and that JOMO did publish a newspaper, "The Burning Spear." [REDACTED] was advised that "The Burning Spear" contains the program of JOMO, which sets forth information to the effect that JOMO believes that the United States is a colonial power; that the African people have no responsibility to the law which was made without their consent; and that the battleground for Africans in America is in the streets of America. [REDACTED] was further advised that the December 28, 1970 - January 15, 1971 issue of "The Burning Spear" contains information concerning speeches made by [REDACTED] at three colleges in the New York City area. Mr. [REDACTED] was further advised that within the past week a Negro male had been shot and killed by two undercover officers of the St. Petersburg, Florida, Police Department, and [REDACTED]

(2) - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Tampa  
JEH:lp  
(4)

ST 101

6 FEB 16 1971

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OTHERWISE.

RACIAL INT. SECT.

70 FEB 24 1971

107

and the JOMO organization have interjected themselves into this affair. [redacted] was further advised that JOMO had held a public meeting on 2/1/71, at which time JOMO had demanded the indictment of the two police officers, together with the firing of the Chief of Police in St. Petersburg, and other such demands.

On 2/2/71, [redacted] came to the Tampa Office and was furnished the four most recent copies of "The Burning Spear," and it was suggested that [redacted] might desire to contact [redacted] in St. Petersburg, for information concerning the situation presently existing in St. Petersburg as a result of the shooting of the Negro male and the JOMO demands. [redacted] advised that he would carefully read the copies of "The Burning Spear" and indicated that he would contact [redacted]. [redacted] advised that his contact with the FBI would not be mentioned in any way and he assured that the Bureau's interests would be protected in this matter.

Subsequently, on 2/3/71, [redacted] advised that after a review of the articles appearing in "The Burning Spear" and, in particular, the JOMO program, he had decided that the appearance of [redacted] on campus at USF would present a clear and present danger. [redacted] advised that [redacted] was declared persona non grata and instructions were given to the Chief of Security at USF that in the event [redacted] came on campus, he would be advised that he was a trespasser and would be subject to arrest if he attempted to make a public address.

[redacted] advised that the Vice President for Student Affairs at USF, who was in complete agreement with the decision to deny clearance to [redacted] spoke with a representative of the AFRO AMERICAN SOCIETY, who indicated that he understood the position of the USF administration concerning this matter and agreed to cancel the scheduled appearance for [redacted] on campus.

Subsequently, [redacted] advised that to the best of his information, [redacted] did not attempt to speak on campus.

[redacted] advised that his contacts with the Tampa Office were not mentioned to anyone and expressed his appreciation for the help in making the decision to deny the appearance of [redacted] on campus.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 2/12/71

FROM : SAC, TAMPA (157-3213) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO -  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
-DISSENSION -  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Tampa letter, 2/10/71.

Set forth below for Bureau approval is a draft of a letter which will be sent from Tampa to BPP Headquarters in Oakland, California, and New York, New York. The purpose of the letter is to create dissension between the BPP and the JUNTA OF MILITANT ORGANIZATIONS (JOMO). If approval is granted to send the letter, the letter will be typed on commercially purchased stationery and will be mailed from a Post Office mail box at the University of South Florida to insure that the Bureau's involvement cannot be traced.

Results obtained will be forwarded to the Bureau.

The letter to be sent is as follows:

"Brothers and Sisters,

"If you are not reading the JOMO paper, The Burning Spear, please do because we have troubles in Florida. [REDACTED] the National Chairman of JOMO, preaches Pan-Africanism and praises Stokely Carmichael, the CIA pig.

[REDACTED] the State Chairman of JOMO, writes that JOMO is the only organization in the south that has demonstrated a clear ideology and program. [REDACTED] preaches in New York City, Louisville and all over Florida. He is organizing chapters in Kentucky and other Southern states. [REDACTED] says forget the past and join JOMO.

REC-6

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - New York (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM)
- 2 - Tampa

JEH:lp  
(8)

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Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



RACIAL INT. SECT.

109

2/26/71 1-NY  
CAF: [unclear] 1-5F

AT [unclear]

TP 157-3213

become the cry in every city in the country. Free [redacted] are forgotten words in Florida.

"Today [redacted] are working to form a JOMO chapter in Tampa and to hell with the brothers and sisters who have been fighting Tampa's racists while [redacted] the African freedom fighter, had his eyes on Africa and not on what was happening to us in Florida.

"Now is the time for unity and not brand of division. We look to Oakland and New York and not to Africa and St. Petersburg. For four hundred years we have struggled for survival and we will not be ensalved by the African freedom fighter.

[redacted] tells us that the Black Panther Party is a cadaver. He says we must join JOMO or sleep forever with the enemy.

"We charge that [redacted] are bed-mates with Karenga and Carmichael, the enemies of the people. Their self-serving goals must be publicized and stopped now before our future is lost.

"We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our own black community.

"Tampa-Sarasota Brothers and Sisters"



ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/26/71

Airtel

1  
1

To: SAC, Tampa (157-3213)

REC-127

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 200 1

COINTELPRO -  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurlet 2/12/71.

You are authorized to prepare and mail anonymous letter set forth in referenced letter. Insure this mailing cannot be traced to the Bureau. Advise Bureau and interested offices of positive results achieved.

- 1 - New York  
1 - San Francisco

CAF:dlb  
(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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NOTE: 100-448006-1474

Tampa suggested anonymous letter be sent to BPP headquarters in California and New York to create dissension between BPP and JOMO. JOMO is the leading black extremist group in Florida which is attempting to expand throughout the nation. The anonymous mail indicates that JOMO is only interested in Pan-Africanism and not what is happening to the Negroes in Florida who do not want to be enslaved by the African freedom fighter. Tampa will make mailing of the anonymous letter under usual precautions.

Enlow \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Hickson \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Halbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Woyne \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

97 MAR 17 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 9 1971

TELETYPE

Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Brennan	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Walters	✓
Mr. [unclear]	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

NR 009 SF CODE

2:45PM URGENT 2/9/71 MCC

TO DIRECTOR (100-448006)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-601) 2P

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS, RACIAL MATTERS.

TO PROMOTE DISSENSION AND DISTRUST BETWEEN HUEY NEWTON AND  
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, BUREAU PERMISSION IS REQUESTED TO FORWARD  
FOLLOWING COMMUNICATION SPECIAL DELIVERY FROM SANTACRUZ, CALIFORNIA,  
TO [REDACTED] HUEY NEWTON, IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA.  
THE "AC" MIGHT BE CONSTRUED BY NEWTON TO BE [REDACTED] WHOSE  
WHEREABOUTS HAVE NOT BEEN KNOWN TO THE BPP FOR SEVERAL WEEKS.

"DEAR BROTHER--

"PLEASE WARN HUEY. HE DOESN'T KNOW THE DANGER HE IS IN.  
HUEY HAS HANDED OUT SUSPENSIONS AND DISCIPLINE WHOLESAL, WITH  
NO IDEA OF WHO IS LOYAL AND WHO IS NOT.

"WHERE DOES HE THINK ALL OF OUR TROUBLE STARTED. WHY  
DOESN'T HE LOOK TO ALGIERS AND FIGURE IT OUT? FIRST HE LOST  
END PAGE ONE

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OTHERWISE.

MR. SULLIVAN FOR THE DIRECTOR

100-448006-2209

112

PAGE TWO

THE SUPPORT OF A GOOD PART OF THE WHITE RADICALS AND NOW THE  
NEW YORK CHAPTER.

"WE STILL HAVE PEOPLE AT NATIONAL WHO ARE CLOSE TO NEW  
YORK AND ALGIERS. HUEY SHOULD BE CAREFUL BECAUSE WHEN [REDACTED]  
ARRIVES HE MAY END UP LIKE [REDACTED]

"AC".

END

H-

AJP FBI WASH DC

OC-MR. BRENNAN

113

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date: 2-9-71

Attached is a proposed counterintelligence letter by our San Francisco Office in order to further promote dissension and distrust in the Black Panther Party (BPP). Fred B. in attached alludes to Fred Bennett reportedly recently killed by BPP associates.

As a result of our counterintelligence program a considerable amount of dissension and distrust has been created within the BPP which has resulted in confusion among its members, suspension and expulsion of others. If you approve, San Francisco Office will be instructed to prepare and send letter mentioned in attached in a manner which cannot be traced back to the Bureau.

ABK:lrs

*Handwritten initials*

*Handwritten initials*

*Handwritten initials*

*Handwritten initials*

*Handwritten initials*

*Handwritten initials*

ENCLOSURE

*Handwritten file number and other markings*

ROUTE IN ENVELO

2/10/71

CODE

1 -  
1 -

TELETYPE

NITEL

TO SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) - 229

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS, RACIAL MATTER.

RESFTEL FEBRUARY NINE LAST.

BUREAU AUTHORITY GRANTED FOR MAILING OF COMMUNICATION  
TO BROTHER OF HUEY NEWTON IMPLYING THREAT TO NEWTON'S LIFE.  
INSURE MAILING CANNOT BE TRACED TO THE BUREAU. ADVISE OF  
ANY POSITIVE RESULTS.

ABF:cal  
(4)

NOTE:

To further promote existing dissension and distrust within the Black Panther Party (BPP) San Francisco requested authority to direct special delivery communication to a brother of Huey Newton, BPP leader, containing implied threat to his life by followers of Eldridge Cleaver, another BPP leader and fugitive in Algeria. Letter being directed to Newton's brother since it is logical to assume he will pass letter on to Newton. Director advised by informative note San Francisco's request and approved same.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan CD \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 10 1971

8:15 PM KPT  
TELETYPE

9 FEB 18 1971


MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

LEB 10 4 51 PM 1971

115

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO :  DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, PHILADELPHIA (157-2371)


SUBJECT: COINTEL PRO - BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY - FINANCES  
RM - BPP

DATE: 2/16/71

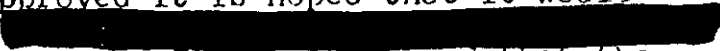
Re Philadelphia airtel to Bureau dated 2/10/71.

The following COINTEL suggestion is submitted for the Bureau's consideration for the purpose of eliminating a source of funds now being used by the Black Panther Party (BPP).

The following information is set forth by way of background upon which the suggestion is based.

It has come to the attention of the Philadelphia Division that a number of the BPP members in the Philadelphia area have been able to obtain Department of Public Assistance aid illegally. This is accomplished by enlisting the aid of  of the Philadelphia Welfare Rights Organization.

Philadelphia feels that this would be an opportune time to make this information available due to the fact that the Pennsylvania State Senate, as reported in The Philadelphia Inquirer, dated 2/9/71, has approved an investigation into the State Welfare Programs. The letter refers to the newspaper article. The Senators to whom the letter would be addressed were all listed in The Philadelphia Inquirer newspaper article dated 2/9/71. The article also reported that the Investigating Committee would have the power to subpoena.

If the letter is approved it is hoped that it would result in the subpoenaing of  before the Investigating Committee. It is also hoped that the letter would cause embarrassment to the Welfare Rights Organization.

2 - Bureau (100-448006) (RM)  
2 - Philadelphia (157-2371)

REC-68

LK/kgg

(4)

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OTHERWISE.

FEB 17 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



PH 100-448006

and possibly cause several members of the Philadelphia BPP to lose their allotments, thus reducing the income of the Philadelphia BPP, which at this time is in dire need of funds.

The Bureau is requested to give prompt attention to the above suggestion since it is felt that the effectiveness of this proposal depends upon its rapid execution.

Dissemination of the article, if approved, will be handled in such a manner that it cannot be traced to the Bureau.

The following is the text of a letter which is to be directed anonymously to five Pennsylvania State Senators serving on the Investigating Committee Commission to Investigate Pennsylvania State Welfare System:

I read in the paper that you are going to investigate the Pa. Welfare mess. Well if that is the truth and you really want to find out whats going on the you can supena [REDACTED] of the Welfare Rights organization, 13th & Buttonwood in Phila. All the people I know have to follow the rules to get there welfare but those two get welfare for any Panther in PH that wants it. I would be better off joining the Panthers. They get all of the welfare money they want while half the kinds here on Columbia Ave. are runing around half starved while the Panthers lay up with each other on Wallace St. and juice and live on the public money.

They don't show birth certificates, they don't show they were looking for a job - they don't even have to give there true addresses. If you think I'm just living you see how [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] are following the rules.

It makes me sick that these people go around bragging how they are living free of the honkies.

PH 100-448006

I was told by one of the Panthers that  
[REDACTED] thru their contacts at the DPA  
could get an emergency check within a matter of  
days.

Well I'm not going to write no more  
but I guess this letter will tell wheather you  
are going to take some action or your committee  
is just another political circus.

Thank you  
Fed up  
Columbia Ave.  
Ph Pa.



ROUTE 117 DIV 10 PE

1 -  
1 -

2/24/71

airtel

To: SAC, Philadelphia (157-2371)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006)

COINTELPRO -  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
FINANCES  
RM

Reurlet 2/16/71.

Your recommendation under captioned program contained in referenced letter is approved except for paragraph 4 of your proposed letter. This paragraph is not consistent grammatically with the remainder of the letter and should read as follows: "I was told by a Panther that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] got contacts at DPA who get emergency checks for Panthers real quick by jiving."

The letters should be sent on unwatermarked bond in such a way as to make it impossible to trace them to the Bureau.

Promptly advise the Bureau of any tangible results achieved.

In the future when time is of the essence, use teletype or airtel rather than a letter in seeking approval since those forms of correspondence are designed to expedite routing and handling at the Bureau.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan CD \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

LEG:acs

(5)

NOTE

MAILED 24

FEB 24 1971

COMM

Philadelphia source has reported that Black Panthers in Philadelphia are able to obtain welfare funds which in turn are used to finance the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Philadelphia.

67 MAR 4 1971

MAIL ROOM

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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OTHERWISE.

119

**Airtel to Philadelphia**  
**Re: COINTELPRO - Black Panther Party -**  
**Finances**  
**100-448006**

**NOTE CONTINUED:**

These funds are obtained through the use of contacts in the Welfare Rights Organization (WRO), a militant organization organized to voice the demands of welfare recipients. These contacts are able to by-pass regulations and expedite payments. Recent publicity has indicated that the Pennsylvania State Senate has approved an investigation of the State welfare programs with subpoena powers for the investigative committee. Five State senators interested in such an investigation were named in newspaper stories. Philadelphia recommends mailing anonymous letters to these five senators naming the WRO contacts and their efforts on the part of the Panthers. One paragraph in the letter submitted by Philadelphia was too grammatical using such phrases as "could get an emergency check within a matter of days." This should be changed. Philadelphia requested expedite consideration since the effectiveness of the proposal depends on rapid execution, but Philadelphia sent its proposal by letter rather than teletype or airtel.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 2/11/71

FROM : *WJB*  
SAC, CHICAGO (157-2209)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RM

*Black Panther Party - HILL GROUP*

Enclosed for the Bureau is a copy of an article that appeared in the "Chicago Tribune" dated 2/6/71, captioned *\*3 Black Panthers Sentenced on Arms Charge, Get Probation*."

This article pertains to the appearance of three Black Panthers in U. S. District Court, Chicago, who pleaded guilty to a charge of trying to buy machine guns, hand grenades and pistols and were given three-year suspended sentences and placed on probation. Judge JOSEPH SAM PERRY is quoted "This is not a case of violence. The charge is attempting to buy weapons. They could have bought the same weapons at Sears, Roebuck and Company if they had given their names. Except for their Black Panther affiliations, they have no criminal records of consequence. I do not think it is in the best interests of society to throw the book at them."

The judge's suspended sentence also covered guilty pleas by two of the defendants.

The article does not appear to have any counter-intelligence significance at this time, however, it is being brought to the attention of the Bureau inasmuch as the Bureau may be in a position to utilize the article as an example of a judicial reaction to the activities of the Black Panther Party.

- 2 - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)  
1 - Chicago

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EX-111

REC-25

11 FEB 16 1971



56 MAR - 3 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.

121

## 3 Black Panthers Sentenced on Arms Charge, Get Probation

BY RUDOLPH UNGER

Three Black Panther members who pleaded guilty to a charge of trying to buy machine guns, hand grenades and pistols were given three-year suspended sentences and placed on probation yesterday by Judge Joseph Sam Perry of Federal District Court over the government's strenuous objections.

William P. Cagney, assistant United States attorney, told Judge Perry, "This is not a case for probation. Granting them probation would be giving them a license to kill."

### Defenses Ruling

Judge Perry replied, "This is not a case of violence. The charge is attempting to buy weapons. They could have bought the same weapons at

Sears, Roebuck & Co. if they had given their names.

"Except for their Black Panther affiliations they have no criminal records of consequence. I do not think it is in the best interests of society to throw the book at them."

Merrill Harvey, 21, of 7418 W. 64th St., Summit, and Michael White, 22, of 7500 W. 61th St., Summit, were arrested on April 11, 1969, in a police stakeout as they attempted to buy the weapons from undercover agents at 33d Street and Stewart Avenue.

Nathaniel Junior, 22, of 7501 W. 61th St., Summit, was arrested at about the same time as he attempted to pay \$700 to undercover agents for the weapons at the Illinois Central Railroad Station, 11th Street and Michigan Avenue.

"The reason there was no shooting and killing in the arrests, as occurred eight months later on the West Side in a similar incident, was that this was a well-planned stakeout," Cagney told Judge Perry.

### Tells Big Stakeout

The prosecutor said 65 Chicago policemen, 25 federal agents, two helicopters, and a searchlight were used in the stakeout, which was led by Thomas A. Foran, then United States attorney, and Richard G. Schulz, Foran's chief criminal prosecution aide.

"These three men were acting on behalf of the Black Panther Party in attempting to purchase the weapons," Cagney said. "Six days before, Junior spoke at a rally here at which he called for revolution in this country."

### Two Jumped Bonds

Judge Perry's suspended sentence also covered guilty pleas by Junior and Harvey to jumping bond. Perry had reduced their bonds from \$65,000 to \$5,000 personal signature bonds in April, 1969, and both fled. Junior surrendered six months later after returning from Canada. Harvey was a fugitive until last December, when agents arrested him in Maywood.

Junior also pleaded guilty to selling a shotgun to an undercover agent and Harvey to possession of a pistol when arrested in a stakeout.

White was sentenced to one to three years in prison in Criminal Court earlier this year on a charge of aggravated battery growing out of the shooting of a policeman.

B. APPROX

B. APPROX

B. APPROX

MEMBER OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATION

122

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 2/11/71

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-601)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

Enclosed is a xerox copy of an article appearing in 2/6/71, issue of "San Francisco Chronicle".

Bureau permission is requested to forward copy of article anonymously to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in Algiers. It is hoped the mailing will encourage a further rift between CLEAVER and the white radicals in this area.

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ENCLOSURE

REC-33

EX-104

15 FEB 16 1971

2 - Bureau (Enc.1) (RM)  
1 - San Francisco  
LSB/jr  
(3)



MAR 1 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

123

F B I

Date: 2/4/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, NEW HAVEN (157-785) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO -  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS  
BUDED: 2/10/71

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, et al, dated  
2/10/71.

At present HUEY P. NEWTON has been in the New Haven area since 1/30/71, and since his arrival has resided in a plush suite in Trumbull Hall, Yale University. Other than an appearance at Lee High School, NEWTON has handled all meetings and conferences at this location. NEWTON has not made an effort to go to, much less stay at Black Panther Headquarters, 35 Sylvan Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut. In addition, NEWTON has failed to get out in the black community and greet the common man.

Due to NEWTON's reluctance to leave his well protected haven, it is suggested that an anonymous letter be sent to CLEAVER and National Headquarters, San Francisco, postmarked, Black Panther Party Headquarters, 35 Sylvan Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut. Contents of proposed letter is as follows:

② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - New Haven  
IMG/mhn  
(4)

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REC-79

EX-114

100-442006-2213  
FEB 8 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: CET/6  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

124

NH 157-785

Brother, as a dedicated Panther, I feel it necessary to come forth and rap to you about the happenings in New Haven. Thus, Supreme Commander has been here for a week and as yet has not related. Not to cry, but things ain't so well in New Haven. For some time the spot has been without heat and/or a toilet to use. Times are hard. Community is not as receptive as before, and the party here needs help. Supposedly help came when the man come to town. Yet, he ain't been to the community yet. That is not so bad, but he didn't even come to the spot and this went hard with the people. I'll follow the man but it's hard to convince the worker that he's concerned about us. Someone has to talk to him, and have him relate.

Upon approval of the Bureau, the foregoing will be written in longhand on non-water marked paper and forwarded to the aforementioned recipients.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/17/71

Airtel

EX-114

1 -  
1 -  
1 -  
1 -

To: SAC, New Haven (157-785)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2213

COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

ReNHairtel 2/4/71 entitled "Cointelpro, Black Panther Party (BPP) - Dissension, Racial Matters."

Authority granted to prepare handwritten letter on plain paper, as set forth in reairtel, for mailing to Eldridge Cleaver in Algiers only. Bureau suggests letter be signed "Brothers in New Haven" and to include several misspellings and punctuation errors in order that letter appears more authentic. Take necessary precautions to insure preparation and mailing cannot be traced to Bureau.

Advise Bureau and San Francisco when this has been done and be alert for any positive results.

LGB:ekw/fb (7) FEB 17 1971

**NOTE:** Black Panther Party (BPP) Supreme Commander Huey P. Newton has recently been in New Haven on a speaking tour. Newton paid no attention to local BPP problems in New Haven and our New Haven Office recommends anonymous letter be prepared for mailing to Eldridge Cleaver and BPP national headquarters complaining about Newton and his lack of concern for local Panther problems. Other Panther leaders have been known to comment regarding Newton's lack of concern for normal BPP problems. This is another opportunity to discredit leadership of Newton and reveal dissatisfaction by local Panther members. It is felt mailing of such a letter to BPP national headquarters would have no worthwhile effect.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Hernandez, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

126



100-100  
REQ JTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

DATE: 2/8/71

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Boysen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

FROM : G. C. Moore

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

JUNE

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop  
1 - Mr. G. C. Moore  
1 - Mr. W. P. Dix  
1 - Mr. W. H. Atkinson  
1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan  
1 - Mr. A. B. Fulton  
1 - Mr. P. E. Nugent

To recommend the New York Office direct [REDACTED]  
a counterintelligence measure designed [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] within the Black Panther Party (BPP) and  
cause disruption within the New York organization. Also, to  
recommend the attached airtel be sent to New York in approval  
of this action. U

b7D

b1

b1

b1

REC 11

100-448006-2214

Enclosure sent 2-9-71  
100-448006

PEN: fb (11) CLASSIFIED BY 6922 WWP/cut-1  
EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2

6 FEB 24 1971 DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONTINUED - OVER  
FEB 18 1971

SPEC. INP. DIR.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. G. D. Brennan  
RE: COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
100-448006

bl

[REDACTED] (c)

bl

[REDACTED] (c)

ACTION:

That the attached airtel be directed to New York  
approving the above action. u

WJ ✓ E osame chrs wed ✓ WBS  
JH GR  
P

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 2/9/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) DP

FROM: SAC, INDIANAPOLIS (157-761)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel dated February 2, 1971. FBI Ken

The proposal submitted herewith is aimed at increasing national dissension within the Black Panther Party (BPP).

A close analysis of the weaknesses and problems within the Indianapolis Chapter of the BPP reveals that the [REDACTED] possesses an altruistic character, is sincerely interested in instituting social programs to elevate the standards of black people in the Indianapolis and surrounding communities but more importantly in the past has indicated a desire to break away from national headquarters of the BPP. In this connection he is reported to have had a meeting with a member of the Chicago Chapter of the BPP with whom he discussed the possibilities of organizing a Midwest Branch, which would be responsible to itself only and not to National Headquarters of the BPP.

The Indianapolis Division, through employment of the [REDACTED] proposes a continuing re-enforcement of CAMPBELL's form of plan. It is noted that [REDACTED]

- 10  
② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Indianapolis  
1 - 157-761  
1 - 170-265

HPL:cdl

(4)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

Per \_\_\_\_\_

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DATE 10/15/01 BY 60322

12 FEB 1971  
RACIAL INT. SECT.

129

IP 157-761

[REDACTED]

It is noted that the goal set in this matter is an extremely ambitious one but effective implementation thereof could cause other areas to follow example set by the Midwest group and hopefully create complete havoc in the national structure of the BPP as it exists today. If this proposal is authorized by the Bureau [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] With support from his former mentor, [REDACTED] might possibly implement this plan at this time. It is noted that in the past [REDACTED] has had little support from local BPP leaders.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/17/71

Airtel

To: SAC, Indianapolis (157-761)

From: Director, FBI (100-443006) - 221

105 REQ 11  
COINTELPRO - BPP - DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurairtel 2/9/71.

Your proposal aimed at increasing national dissension within the Black Panther Party (BPP) has been received and is being considered by the Bureau. You will be advised of further action.

GTT:pjc  
(5)

## NOTE:

Indianapolis' proposal for creation of dissension on a national level concerned plans to create regional group, thereby reducing national influence in local BPP activities.

All field offices having BPP chapters have been requested to submit proposals. All such proposals are being considered and those deemed most appropriate will be adopted and field will be so advised.

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OTHERWISE.

MAILED 6  
COMM

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Brennan CD	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Dalbey	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

97 FEB 22 1971

MAIL ROOM ☒

131

FBI

Date: 2/5/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, PHILADELPHIA (157-2371)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS  
BUDED 2/10/71

Re Bureau airtel dated 2/2/71.

The following cointel suggestion is submitted for the Bureau's consideration for the purpose of creating dissension within the Philadelphia Branch of the BPP.

Enclosed for the Bureau is a copy of an article appearing on page four of the January 30, 1971, issue of "The Black Panther," entitled "REV. LEON SULLIVAN--HIGH PRIEST OF BLACK CAPITALISM."

For the information of the Bureau, Rev. SULLIVAN is a very influential Philadelphia minister, well known for his development of Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), a training center of the trades for Negro youth, his organization of a black shopping center and for his recent appointment to the Board of Directors of General Motors. This appointment received heavy play in the local press and was viewed as an indication of the heights a member of a minority race can achieve. Rev. SULLIVAN is the local standard bearer of the concept of self-help and familiar to every Philadelphian in this regard.

On 1/28/71 Philadelphia BPP [redacted] travelled to New York to pick up the above

② Bureau (100-448006) (Encl. 1)  
 2 - Philadelphia (157-2371)  
 1 - 157-2004

REC-2

FEB 6 1971

TDD/rav  
(14)Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

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 OTHERWISE.

Per \_\_\_\_\_  
RACIAL INT. SECT.

132

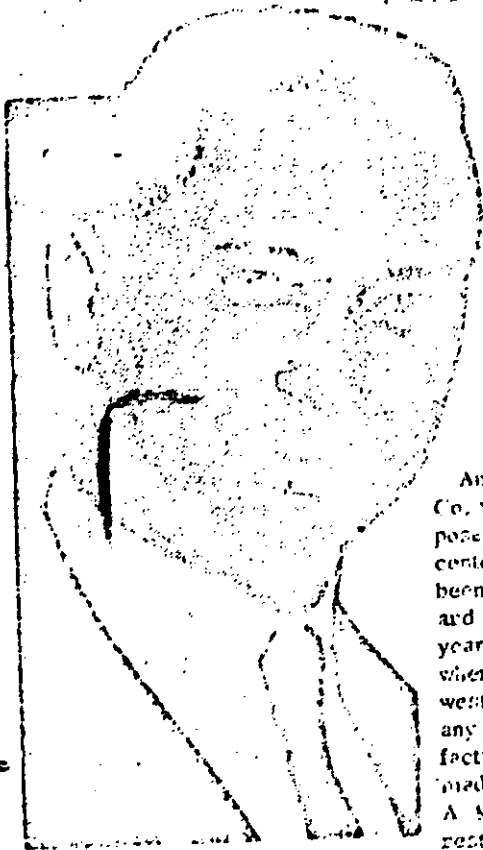
issue of the paper. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] is visibly dismayed at seeing the article. He said that while the article was accurate in its portrayal of SULLIVAN, it could possibly cause serious damage to the party's efforts to seek funds in the city. [REDACTED] remarked that the whole city relates to SULLIVAN.

Philadelphia feels that copies of this article should be circulated to the major media representatives in the Philadelphia area in order that it might receive the widest possible coverage. Because of the great interest in SULLIVAN and respect for him in the community in general, it is anticipated that publication of this article could well result in hampering party efforts to recruit friends and raise funds. In addition, it is felt that the article should be sent to OIC to insure that organization has seen it. This organization has access to the attention of hundreds of young Negroes, and may well decide as a result of the article to impress on them that the BPP is not the answer to the problems of the black man in America.

The Bureau is requested to give prompt attention to the above suggestion since it is felt that the effectiveness of the proposal depends on its rapid execution. Dissemination of the article, if approved, will be handled in such a manner that it cannot be traced to the Bureau.

## REV. LEON SULLIVAN

--HIGH PRIEST  
OF BLACK  
CAPITALISM

Rev. Leon Sullivan

A dangerous myth is running rampant in some portions of the black community. The myth is "Black Capitalism" as a means of "liberation" and one of the official high priest of this deadly cult is fascist Philly's own Rev. Leon Sullivan. In this article we will try to expose both the myth and the high priest for what they really are - fascist tools to keep blacks from moving along the correct path of liberation.

Leon Sullivan is the negro pastor of Zion Baptist Church here in Philadelphia. He is also the founder of Opportunities Industrialization Centers of America (OIC). OIC is a government-sponsored game which allegedly trains lumpen brothers and sisters for jobs. It's ninety branches across the Babylonian empire claim to have trained 65,000 persons for jobs of which "more than 40,000 have found work". Just assuming those figures are correct, what happened to the 25,000 or so that didn't work and what kind of jobs did the 40,000 find? Were they the jobs they were trained for, are their wages anywhere above the subsistence level? Aside from that, you can often tell a great deal about an individual or an organization by the company it keeps. George Chapman, who leads OIC with Sullivan, is the retired chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank -- a high capitalist enterprise with financial holdings in the commercial banks of the world.

Another project of Sullivan & Co. was "progress" plaza, a supposedly black-owned shopping center. The shopping center has been sitting at Broad St. and Girard Ave. in Philadelphia several years now, but we fail to see where the black lumpen on the west side of Broad St. have made any "progress" because of it. In fact, the ones who seem to have made the most "progress" are A & P, Jr. Hot Shoppe (a chain restaurant), Bell Telephone and First Pennsylvania Bank and maybe the owners of the stationery, book and men's shops. In other words, the capitalist, as usual, made the "progress".

The latest high-point in Sullivan's career of being a capitalist tool came when General Motors recently elected him to its Board of Directors. If you have read some of the previous issues of this paper, you know of GM's involvement in many, and every form of exploitation, from being one of the major death-machine producers for the Vietnam war to ruthlessly exploiting its workers to having business interests in South Africa. Sullivan tries to excuse his accepting the position by saying he'll do what he can to improve the company's record hiring blacks, promoting them, creating more black leadership and giving more work to black contractors. He also said in relation to GM's financial dealings in South Africa, "I shall see how we can deal with the situation". Then he turns around and adds, "I'll be only one voice". Knowing that he won't change General Motors, Sullivan said that he realized that he had only one of 23 votes on the Board, and that his influence was limited. This was said with other rhetoric about how he knows GM will use him, but that he will use GM and see that it "becomes far more responsive to humanitarian profits than capitalist profits". What we can gather from this madness is the excuse of a lackey who knows he is only pawns being manipulated in the hands of

people's history of misery and degradation in the American empire; too many blacks are still unaware of the fact that racism alone isn't the cause of our suffering, but racism and capitalism combined. It wasn't racism alone that brought our African ancestors to this continent as slaves, but also the desire to make as much profit possible -- capitalism. The cause of our suffering today can be laid at the monstrous bloody feet of capitalism. Because too many blacks have been unaware of these facts, Nixon was able to come up with the myth of "black capitalism".

"Black capitalism" is similar to the theory that a black dog won't bite black people because it's black. But in reality, black dogs bite just as readily as white dogs -- they both have teeth. Capitalism is capitalism, in all its dog-eat-dog viciousness, no matter what color the capitalist. What difference does it make to spend \$20.00 on an item that is only worth \$10.00 in a store owned by a black capitalist than to spend \$20.00 for an item worth \$10.00 in a store owned by a white capitalist? Either way, you've been robbed of \$10.00. So, you see that capitalism, no matter what color the capitalist, is not in the interest of the masses.

If we, Black people and other oppressed people are to obtain our freedom, capitalism must be smashed. The ruling clique has surrounded us with "programs", "grants", "loans", etc., all of which are meaningless and are not intended for the benefit of the broad masses, but for the preservation of capitalism. There are many Leon Sullivans across this empire, each faithfully serving the interests of the pigs of the ruling clique. The masses must sweep them aside in the fight to build inter-communalism on the ashes of this decadent empire.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE  
Leon Sullivan

134



# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/12/71

Airtel

1 -   
 1 -

To: SAC, Philadelphia (157-2371)  
From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 2216

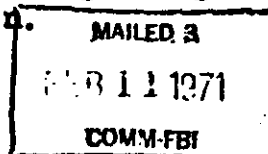
COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurairtel 2/5/71.

Authority is granted to send copy of article entitled "Rev. Leon Sullivan -- High Priest of Black Capitalism" which appeared in 1/30/71 issue of "The Black Panther" to Opportunities Industrialization Center. You are not authorized to provide copies of this article to news media representatives since it is considered doubtful such action would result in hampering BPP efforts.

Insure this matter is handled in a manner which cannot be traced to the Bureau. Provide Bureau with information regarding any positive results received from this action.

ERS:fb(5)



**NOTE:** The article is critical of Sullivan, a very influential minister well-known for his development of Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC), a training center of the trades for Negro youth. Providing the article to OIC will insure it is seen by that group and could result in steps being taken by leaders to impress its youth that the BPP is not the answer to the black man's problems. Philadelphia felt that dissemination to major media representatives could result in further widespread dissemination of the information and would hamper BPP recruiting and raising of funds.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Coyne \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

97 FEB 22 1971  
MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

WCS  
135  
YAT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

# ROUTE ON ENVELOPE

1 - Mr.  
1 - Mr.

2/18/71

Airtel

To: SAC, Detroit (157-3214)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2211

COINTELPRO - BPP - DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurairtel 2/9/71.

Your proposal directed toward national dissension within the Black Panther Party (BPP) has been received and is being considered by the Bureau. You will be advised as to further action.

GTT:pjc  
(5)

## NOTE:

Detroit's proposal to create national dissension in BPP suggested use of leaflets setting forth charges against national leader of BPP. All field offices having BPP chapters have been requested to submit proposals. All such proposals are being considered and those deemed most appropriate will be adopted and field will be so advised.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan CD \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 7

COMM-FBI

97 MAR 2 1971

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2736

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

FEB 12 1971

TELETYPE

NR 012 SF CODE

2:30 PM URGENT 2/12/71 MAH

TO: DIRECTOR (100-448006)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (157-601) 1P

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Brennan	CD
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Walters	✓
Mr. F. [unclear]	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

RACIAL MATTERS

COINTELPRO-BLACK EXTREMISTS, RM. RACIAL MATTER

"SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER" THIS DATE CONTAINED FRONT PAGE ARTICLE ENTITLED "HUEY NEWTON IS LIVING IN SIX HUNDRED FIFTY DOLLARS-A-MONTH APARTMENT." ARTICLE TELLS OF NEWTON LIVING IN A LAVISH APARTMENT OVERLOOKING LAKE MERRITT IN OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, UNDER THE ASSUMED NAME OF DON PENN. STORY ALSO TOLD OF NEWTON RECEIVING DAILY DELIVERY OF FRESH FLOWERS FROM A FLORIST. PICTURES ACCOMPANIED STORY SHOWING NEWTON DEPARTING FRONT OF APARTMENT YESTERDAY AND ANOTHER PHOTOGRAPH OF THE ENTIRE APARTMENT BUILDING.

SAN FRANCISCO REQUESTS AUTHORITY <sup>TO</sup> ~~OF~~ ANONYMOUSLY MAIL ZEROX PARTY BLACK PANTHER COPIES OF ARTICLE. SAN FRANCISCO INTENDS TO MAIL ARTICLE TO ALL BPP NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FACISM AND NEGK CHAPTERS, BPP MEMBERS WHO MIGHT NOT READ ARTICLE, SUPPORTERS, AND TO INDIVIDUALS WHO INVESTIGATION IN THE FUTURE MIGHT REVEAL THEIR SUPPORT OF BPP. SAN FRANCISCO DESIRES TO ALSO MAIL COPIES OF ARTICLE TO ELDRIDGE CLEAVER IN ALGIERS AND TO KNOWN SUPPORTERS IN EUROPE.

SAN FRANCISCO ALSO REQUESTS BUREAU AUTHORITY TO FURNISH ZEROX COPIES OF ARTICLE TO FIELD DIVISIONS HAVING BPP AND NCCF CHAPTERS WITH SIMILAR AUTHORITY FOR MAILING ARTICLE TO NEWSPAPER EDITORS.

IT IS FURTHER SUGGESTED THAT XEROX COPIES OF ARTICLE BE ACCOMPANIED BY MOTTO "LIVE LIKE HUEY." ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

57

137

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/18/71

Airtel

To: SAC, San Francisco (157-601)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 2711  
EX 105 EC-2COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS

ReSFtel 2/12/71.

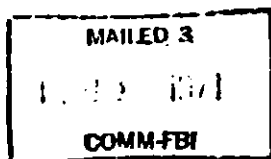
San Francisco is authorized to anonymously mail copies of newspaper article as proposed in referenced teletype, insuring that mailing cannot be traced to Bureau.

RNB:pjc  
(4)NOTE:

San Francisco proposed mailing Xerox copies of news items from "San Francisco Examiner" concerning Huey P. Newton's plush \$650 a month apartment to BPP branches and supporters. San Francisco also proposed furnishing copies to divisions with BPP activity for mailing to newspaper editors. Purpose is to discredit Newton in eyes of his supporters. Director was advised of above by informative note and approved the action.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Hersman, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



97 FEB 23 1971

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

138

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date: 2/12/71

Attached indicates San Francisco daily newspaper has story exposing high living of Black Panther Party (BPP) leader Huey P. Newton. This based on counterintelligence proposed in form of mass media item authorized by us.

San Francisco recommends further exploitation of situation by mass mailing of newspaper article to include mailing to all BPP branches, thus discrediting Newton in the eyes of his supporters. If you approve San Francisco will be authorized to make the mailing in such a manner that it cannot be traced to Bureau.

ABF:pca

CONFIDENTIAL

100-648066-221

139

ENCLOSURE

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (157-3214) (P)

COINTELPRO - BPP - DISSENSION  
RM

ReBuairtel, 2/2/71.

Detroit submits following proposal directed toward local dissension:

Detroit will prepare mimeographed flyers with the Detroit NCCF heading. These flyers will express local contempt of national BPP Headquarters' overall running of the BPP program and accuse national of being totally disinterested in community problems. Will specifically score HUEY NEWTON as a traitor and a counter-revolutionary who has prostituted the whole movement for his own self-interest. Will then announce the autonomy of the local NCCF chapter and list as new local leaders those known to be in current disfavor with national headquarters. In this regard consideration could be given to naming as new leaders persons known to be connected with a rival organization. (In Detroit, for example, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers (LRBW)).

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Detroit EX 105  
JWB:PMR  
(3)

REC- 100-448006-2219

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FEB 11 1971

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 1969 O - 346-080 (11)

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/18/71

Airtel

To: SAC, Detroit (157-3214)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 217

COINTELPRO - BPP - DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurairtel 2/9/71 concerning proposal directed toward local dissension in the Black Panther Party (BPP).

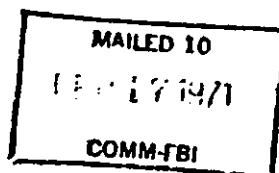
Submit copies of suggested fliers to the Bureau for approval, as well as your plans for distribution of such fliers.

GTT:fjc  
(5)

NOTE:

In an attempt to create local dissension within the violence-prone BPP, Detroit suggested preparation of mimeographed fliers expressing local contempt of national BPP operations including picturing national leader Huey P. Newton as a traitor and counterrevolutionary and announcing the autonomy of local chapters.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.



Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Brennan CD \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☒

141

2/9/71

**AIRTEL**

**TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)**  
**FROM : SAC, CINCINNATI (157-3786) (P)**  
**SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)**  
**DISSENSION**  
**RM**  
**BUDED 2/10/71**

ReBuairtel 2/2/71.

The following relates to local dissension of the BPP in Dayton, Ohio.

For information of the Bureau, [REDACTED] NCCF member, Dayton, Ohio, was sentenced to 30 days in the Dayton Workhouse on 1/12/71, for disorderly conduct on 8/28/70. [REDACTED] since being in jail has been made coordinator of the NCCF Breakfast Program, Dayton, Ohio. NCCF leadership apparently capitalizing on his commitment by trying to solicit sympathy of Dayton Negro community by charging that establishment is preventing innocent children from being fed by his being in jail.

It is recommended that Cincinnati Division direct a letter to [REDACTED] as Bureau is aware, [REDACTED] is Chairman of the NCCF, Dayton, Ohio. Letter to be worded as follows:

"Brothers

"Willie is pig informer. Willie rap to workhouse pigs and visitor pigs. Willie is a trecherus trator. I know this cause I was in workhouse to with Willie. Can't tell you who I am cause of Willies friends.

3-Bureau (RM)  
2-Cincinnati

GPU:blb (5)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 11/11/01 BY 60322  
CINCINNATI

142



CI 157-3786

"Right on. Power to the people.

"A Brother"

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/18/71

Airtel

1 -  
1 -

To: SAC, Cincinnati (157-3786)

REC-2

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 2221

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

DISSENSION

RM

BUDED: 3/20/71

Referenced is made to your two airtels dated 2/9/71 setting forth plans to disrupt the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) in Dayton, Ohio, and to cause friction between national BPP headquarters and Dayton NCCF.

Bureau believes your proposal to cause dissension among NCCF personnel in Dayton could result in [REDACTED] being maimed or becoming another Alex Rackley. This recommendation therefore is being denied.

You should continue to analyze activities of Dayton NCCF and resubmit a counterintelligence proposal concerning this group by 3/20/71.

Your proposal aimed at causing friction between the Dayton NCCF and national BPP headquarters is being considered by the Bureau. You will be advised in the event such proposal is authorized. You should not, however, institute any action concerning such proposal without specific Bureau authorization.

WIA:sef (5)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

97 FEB 22 1971

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144

Airtel to Cincinnati

Re: COINTELPRO - Black Panther Party (BPP)

Dissension

100-448006

NOTE:

Cincinnati in an effort to create dissension within NCCF Dayton noted that [REDACTED], NCCF member was sentenced to 30 days in the Dayton Workhouse on 1/12/71. He is not a leader but Dayton NCCF subsequent to his incarceration designated [REDACTED] as coordinator of the NCCF Breakfast Program in an effort to solicit sympathy from Dayton Negro community by charging the establishment through [REDACTED] imprisonment was preventing children from being fed. Cincinnati recommended letter from "a brother" be forwarded to Dayton NCCF leader indicating [REDACTED] while in prison was visited by police and he cooperated with them and is "pig" informer. Although letter undoubtedly would be effective in creating dissension it is also possible it would result in [REDACTED] death. BPP has murdered two members it suspected of being police informants, including Alex Rackley.

Cincinnati also recommended letter be forwarded to BPP national headquarters condemning the high living of BPP Supreme Commander Huey Newton. Decision concerning this recommendation is being held in abeyance so it can be considered along with many other recommendations received from varied field offices. Only the cream of the crop of suggestions aimed at creating dissension between local BPP groups and BPP national headquarters will be adopted.

F B I

Date: 2/5/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4054) (P)

RE: COINTELPRO - BLACK  
NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Re WFO airtel to Bureau, 1/11/71, Bureau airtel to Los Angeles, 1/19/71, both entitled "COINTELPRO-BLACK EXTREMISTS, RACIAL MATTERS".

Per the Bureau's instructions, attached is a leaflet attacking the BPP and attributed to a fictitious organization at the California State College at Los Angeles (CSCLA).

It is noted that CSCLA has a black student population of over 5,000, so that the opinions expressed herein undoubtedly prevail somewhere within their numbers. If approved, mailing of this proposal will be such as to insure concealment of the Bureau's identity as the source.

The Los Angeles Division solicits suggestions from the Bureau and WFO regarding potential addressees for this proposal. Any suggestion made by Los Angeles would be based solely on existing public source material concerning colleges and universities in the United States. It is suggested that this leaflet be mailed also to Black Panther Party facilities in Los Angeles and San Francisco as well as local academic institutions having black student organizations.

- Bureau (AM-REGISTERED)
- San Francisco (157-601) (AM-REGISTERED)
- WFO (157-1292) (AM-REGISTERED)
- Los Angeles  
(1 - 157-1707)

RWH/gcw  
(9)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

RACIAL INT. SECT.  
FEB 10 1971  
146

1-WFO  
 2/18/71 RCB:SCS  
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 EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
 OTHERWISE

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND  
THE FUTURE OF THE BLACK  
MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

Each of our black brothers and sisters who perceives of himself as "revolutionary", periodically must coldly and dispassionately review the state of the movement, remove its contradictions in order to reach higher levels of sophistication and continue toward the resolution of our common problem.

As blacks, our problem, simply stated, is acquiring a manhood and equality that has been denied us collectively since this country's inception. Obviously, in solving the problem, we utilize a combination of actions selected from those available. Inwardly, we have been respectful enough to profitably exploit the neurobiologic delight enjoyed by our persecuted, unforgotten while masters who have been responsible to a rhetorical arsenal that is comparatively new to our movement. Though our rhetoric has not often been followed by the activation of our threats, "the man" has begun to react, and the employment of this tactic has proven successful.

Through it, we have been successful in seeing pitiful white politicians, educators, and businessmen acknowledge, if not execute, our demands as black men. In so doing, they have finally recognized our presence, but that is only the beginning.

But while the rhetoric has been a successful tool toward satisfying our goal, we, in turn, have been victimized by it, exploited by demagogic fools who are pretenders to the leadership of our movement. It is this reality that makes it incumbent upon us to presently identify and remove existing impurities. We address ourselves directly to that pompous, illiterate NEGRO fool who has the audacity to claim SUPREME COMMANDSHIP of our movement, Huey Newton. Newton and his obsured collection of dolts and waifs who legitimize their existence by proclaiming themselves a Black Panther Party, despite conspicuous direction and financing by white punks seeking black "cannon fodder" for their own ends, have capitalized, if not prospered, through the opportunistic commercialization of revolutionary "rhetoric". Under the pretense of following Fanon's edict regarding a revolutionary's primal obligation of educating the masses, that buffoon Newton and his ludicrous band of witless urchins have conned even responsible, educated black revolutionists into acknowledging

their future in our movement. At one time, the Black Panther Party was useful to our movement, but it has become far too apparent that its intellectual base is empty, its practical sense burlesque, and its vision as appealing as a parade of basket cases.

To succeed, it is imperative our movement find valid leadership. History and our people will judge us harshly if we allow a Newton or Black Panther Party to fill the leadership vacuum and claim credit for the successes of the black movement. It is we who, because of our inaction, must assume responsibility for waxing the obsured myth about the significance of Newton and his tragic following. As Fanon also noted: "No leader, however valuable he may have been, can substitute himself for the direction of the movement".

IT IS TIME WE MOVED ONWARD!

Black Action Caucus  
California State College  
at Los Angeles

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/18/71

RA  
Airtel

To: SAC, Los Angeles (157-4054)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 2221

COINTELPRO - BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS,  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

ReLAairtel 2/5/71.

Your proposed leaflet for mailing to black student organizations is being considered by the Bureau. If approved, you will be furnished a list of addresses and instructions for mailing.

1 - San Francisco (157-601)

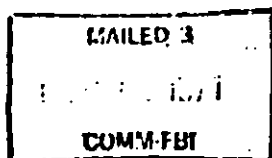
1 - WFO (157-1292)

RNB:pjc  
(7)

## NOTE:

Los Angeles submitted fictitiously signed leaflet with recommendation it be mailed to black student organizations and California BPP offices. Leaflet is critical of BPP leader Huey P. Newton who is accused of exploiting the Revolutionary Movement. Purpose is to promote widespread criticism of Newton.

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OTHERWISE.



97 FEB 22 1971

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150



FBI

Date: 2/10/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, TAMPA (157-3213) (P)

COINTELPRO -  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Buairtel 2/2/71.

The following information is being set forth in reference to a counterintelligence proposal to create dissension or problems between the Tampa chapter of the NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM (NCCF) and BPP National Headquarters.

The Tampa chapter of the NCCF is not operating openly as a BPP chapter because of police harassment and lack of support in the black community.

[REDACTED] the Tampa NCCF in July 1970, after visiting the BPP Headquarters in New York, N. Y., has left the Tampa NCCF and is [REDACTED] chapter of the JUNTA OF MILITANT ORGANIZATIONS (JOMO). JOMO has established chapters outside of the State of Florida and has designs of becoming a national organization. At a national conference of JOMO, held in Louisville, Ky., in December 1970, [REDACTED] expressed opposition to the BPP policy of "pick up the gun." JOMO is presently attempting to establish a JOMO chapter in Tampa.

Tampa feels that this would be an opportune time to send a letter to the BPP Headquarters in New York, N. Y., exposing [REDACTED] and the JOMO organization as being anti-BPP and pro-STOKELY CARMICHAEL. Accordingly, by separate communication, Tampa will submit for approval the draft of a letter which will be sent from Tampa to the BPP in New York, N. Y., concerning the above.

- ② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Tampa

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

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RACIAL INT. SECT.

151

F B I

Date: 2/10/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (157-4690) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, etal, 2/2/71.

In line with referenced airtel, Atlanta is submitting a proposal aimed at creating dissension within the local branch of the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF). In light of the recent information to the effect that the Atlanta NCCF chapter, in connection with the BPP national offices in San Francisco, is attempting to lease or purchase the former Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) national office building located at 360 Nelson Street, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia, it is felt that this presents an opportunity to create problems within the local NCCF branch.

It is noted that the local NCCF chapter is in the process of being evicted from its present location at 18 Ashby Street, S. W., Atlanta, Georgia. It is proposed that a letter could be directed to [REDACTED] of the [REDACTED] indicating that inasmuch as [REDACTED] is apparently [REDACTED]

- ② - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York (Info.) (RM)  
1 - San Francisco (RM)  
4 - Atlanta  
(2 - 157-4690)  
(1 - 157-4542)  
(1 - 157-4729)

REF:pab  
(8)

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OTHERWISE.

56 FEB 22 1971

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

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102-449116-2

FEB 13 1971

New York  
RACIAL INT. SECT

152

AT 157-4690

"the go-between" in the negotiations for the SNCC building between BPP headquarters and [REDACTED], that it could be suggested that [REDACTED] is receiving a fee for his services which is being withheld from [REDACTED] and the local NCCF's attention. It is suggested that this letter be mailed anonymously with an Atlanta postmark.

FBI

Date: 2/9/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via A I R T E L \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, RICHMOND (105-5096) -P-

*Resume*  
COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
DISSENSION  
RM

BUDED: 2/10/71

ReBuairtel dated 2/2/71.

LOCAL DISSENSION

As the Bureau is aware, the Richmond Information Center (RIC), Richmond, Va., has been under investigation by the Richmond Division due to its affiliation with the BPP. However, at the end of January, 1971, [REDACTED] decided to break off relations with the BPP because of the BPP's failure to clarify the official status of the RIC and because of the BPP's failure to lend complete support and guidance, including a steady supply of BP newspapers to RIC.

As the Bureau is also aware, Richmond is conducting a gun law violation investigation which involves numerous members of the RIC and at least two members of the Washington, D.C. BPP Chapter. For reasons previously reported in communications bearing the RIC caption, Richmond will, UACB, begin interviews of RIC members involved in the gun violation matter on and after 2/22/71. When these interviews begin, they will undoubtedly have a tremendous counterintelligence effect and further disrupt the organizational efforts of RIC.

- (2) - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)  
(3) - Richmond

(2 - 105-5096)  
(1 - 157-2986)

TJO:pfm

(5)

Approved

54 FEB 22 1971

Special Agent in Charge

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

Sent

M

Per

12 FEB 11 1971

2-34  
154  
RACIAL MATTER

RH 105-5096

Richmond believes that the aforementioned interviews and the Federal Grand Jury action planned in connection with the gun law violation will create dissension within the RIC group. Permission to conduct these interviews on and after 2/22/71 has been requested of the Bureau on a UAC basis by separate communication.

FBI

Date: 2/10/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, TAMPA (157-3213) (P)

COINTELPRO

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -

DISSENSION

RACIAL MATTERS

Re Buairtel, 2/2/71.

The affairs of the Tampa Chapter of the NATIONAL COMMITTEE TO COMBAT FASCISM (NCCF) are presently in a chaotic condition. [REDACTED] in July

1970, after visiting BPP Headquarters in New York, N. Y., has left the organization and is presently the [REDACTED]

The Tampa NCCF is not operating under the NCCF name because of lack of support within the ghetto community.

[REDACTED], who is [REDACTED] as the [REDACTED] were tried on a narcotics charge on 2/3-5/71. [REDACTED] was subsequently found guilty and [REDACTED] was found not guilty, which has caused further dissension between JOMO and the Tampa NCCF.

At a national conference of JOMO held in Louisville, Kentucky, in December 1970, [REDACTED] who is the National Chairman of JOMO, expressed opposition to the BPP and the "pick up the gun" policy of the BPP. [REDACTED] is presently attempting to establish a JOMO chapter in Tampa, Florida, in opposition to the Tampa NCCF.

In view of the above, it is felt that a counterintelligence proposal aimed at creating dissension or problems between the Tampa NCCF and its leaders would not be appropriate at this time. This matter will be followed closely and the Bureau will be kept advised.

REC-45

100-448006-2295

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Tampa

EX-114

2 FEB 13 1971

JEH:lp  
(4)

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

RACIAL INT. 156

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FBI

Date: 2/4/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161140) (P)  
 SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-BLACK EXTREMISTS  
 RACIAL MATTERS

ReBuairtel to Boston, 1/28/71.

Referenced airtel points to the hysteria and egotism evinced by BPP leader HUEY P. NEWTON when he, his activities or policies are the subject of criticisms made by those who are BPP members or are closely associated with that group.

NY feels the above described situation may be exploited from a counterintelligence point of view by directing letters and written comments by mail to NEWTON shortly after he has made a well publicized public appearance. These letters would be critical of NEWTON in that they would indicate that those present at NEWTON's appearances laughed at him, were critical of his demeanor, did not understand what he was trying to say or just generally were bored by the whole scene. The fictitious writers of these letters would express a sympathy for NEWTON in that whatever failures are attributed to NEWTON are in reality caused by his psycopathic associates and subordinates.

The above recommendation is submitted in compliance with instructions set forth in referenced airtel and no action on this matter will be taken without prior Bureau approval.

Bureau (RM)  
 1- New York

JLL:tf  
 (4)

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Approved: **36 FEB 22 1971**

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

157

F B I

Date: 2/10/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6109) (P)

COINTELPRO  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RM

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau, 2/4/71, captioned as above, and San Francisco airtel to Bureau, 2/4/71, captioned, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), CHARLOTTE DIVISION, RM-BPP."

San Francisco and the Bureau should note that referenced communications apparently both refer to the same letter received at 1804 Fern St., High Point, N. C. The [redacted] mentioned in the San Francisco communication is undoubtedly identical with [redacted]

For the information of San Francisco, this was not a Charlotte inspired COINTELPRO measure and any additional information received will be furnished to the Bureau and San Francisco.

② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
2 - Charlotte  
THG:jat  
(6)

EX-110

REC-45

FEB 13 1971

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RACIAL INT. SECT.

FEB 13 1971

58 FF [Special Agent in Charge]

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

158



F B I

Date: 2/10/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006) *C. J. Brown*

FROM: SAC, ATLANTA (157-4690) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS *Black extremists*

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, etal, 2/2/71.

In line with referenced airtel, Atlanta is submitting a proposal aimed at creating dissension between the local branch of NCCF in Atlanta, Georgia and BPP headquarters. In light of the recent information to the effect that the Atlanta NCCF chapter, in connection with the BPP national offices in San Francisco, are attempting to lease or purchase the former Student National Coordinating Committee (SNCC) national office building located at 360 Nelson Street, S. E., Atlanta, Georgia, it is felt that this presents an opportunity to create problems between the local chapter of NCCF in Atlanta, Georgia, and their national headquarters.

It is noted that the BPP is attempting to negotiate this endeavor under the corporate name of Stronghold Consolidated Productions, Inc. (SCPI) through BPP, New York attorney, [REDACTED]. It is also noted that

- 2 - Bureau (RM) *REC-45*
- 1 - New York (Info.) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (Info.) (RM)
- 4 - Atlanta
- (2 - 157-4690)
- (1 - 157-4542)
- (1 - 157-4729)
- EX-100*

REF:pab  
(8)

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RACIAL INT. SECT.

58 FEB 23 1971

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

159

[REDACTED] of SNCC, national offices in New York City has previously had a heated falling out with [REDACTED] at the time [REDACTED] was attempting to lease the property and equipment in Atlanta, during the fall of 1970.

It is felt that should the present matter of the possibility that the old equipment in the SNCC offices would be leased to someone else, especially any BPP organization, [REDACTED] would attempt to take measures to thwart any such action by [REDACTED]

It is recommended that a letter be directed to [REDACTED] at the SNCC offices in New York City setting forth the plans presently being undertaken by the Atlanta NCCF. Atlanta feels that by bringing this matter to the attention of the SNCC functionaries who likewise have been endeavoring to utilize the SNCC equipment for their own purposes, that this would cause considerable conflict between the SNCC functionaries and the BPP, as well as causing suspicion and dissension between the local NCCF chapter in Atlanta and the national BPP headquarters inasmuch as they would be led to think that this information was directed to [REDACTED] by one of their own members due to the furtiveness of the negotiations between the BPP and [REDACTED]

1  
1  
1 - [REDACTED]  
2/16/71

**Airtel**

**To: SACs, San Francisco (157-601)  
New York (157-161993)**

**From: Director, FBI (100-448006)**

**COINTELPRO - BLACK EXTREMISTS  
RACIAL MATTERS**

ReSFairtel 1/27/71 captioned "Black Panther Party (BPP), New York Division, RM," reporting that Huey P. Newton stated he would fire [REDACTED] over did anything not authorized by Newton.

The Bureau feels this situation offers counterintelligence possibilities. San Francisco and New York should remain alert for any activity by [REDACTED] that might not be fully approved by Newton or for any activity that might be made to look as though it was not done with the best interests of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in mind.

Purpose is to cause dissension between [REDACTED] and Newton. If Newton [REDACTED] Newton would most likely take over operation of Strengbold Consolidated Productions, Inc. (SCPI), personally, which is the surest way of causing the failure of the corporation.

Submit any proposed action to the Bureau for approval.

RNB:pjc  
(9)

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**NOTE:**

[REDACTED] operates SCPI for Huey P. Newton, BPP Supreme Commander, as a depository for all BPP funds and assets. Purpose is to take counterintelligence action that will cause Newton to fire [REDACTED]

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Brennan
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Dalbey
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Walters
- Mr. Soyars
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

MAIL ROOM ☐

161

FBI

Date: 2/9/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

A I R T E L

Via \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, RICHMOND (105-5096) -P-

*DUPLICATE*  
 COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
 DISSENSION  
 RM

BUDED: 2/10/71

ReBuairtel dated 2/2/71.

NATIONAL DISSENSION

As the Bureau is aware, the Richmond Information Center (RIC), Richmond, Va., has been under investigation by the Richmond Division due to its affiliation with the BPP. However, at the end of 1/71, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] decided to break off relations with the BPP because of the BPP's failure to clarify the official status of RIC and because of the BPP's failure to lend complete support and guidance, including a steady supply of BP newspapers to RIC. It should be noted that RIC's contact with the BPP was almost exclusively with the Washington, D.C. BPP Chapter and contact with the National Headquarters of the BPP was very limited.

The Bureau is also aware of information which has been developed concerning the transfer of firearms between RIC and the Washington, D.C. BPP Chapter.

In view of the above, Richmond believes that it is not in a position to make a proposal aimed at creating dissension or problems between RIC and/or RIC's leaders and the BPP National Headquarters. However, with the above factors [REDACTED]

2 - Bureau (REGISTERED MAIL)  
 3 - Richmond { 2 - 105-5096  
 1 - 157-2986 }

TJO/pfm  
 (5)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

162

mind, Richmond believes that by writing the letter set forth below to the Washington, D.C. BPP Chapter, one or both of the following counterintelligence objectives may be achieved:

- (1) Cause irreparable dissension and distrust between the Washington, D.C. BPP Chapter and [REDACTED] and possibly the entire RIC group.
- (2) If the proposed letter set forth below is mailed to coincide with the commencement of interviews by Richmond regarding the gun law violation previously reported to the Bureau under the RIC caption, [REDACTED] may be considered the "leak" regarding the gun law violation information. It is noted that separate communication from Richmond has indicated it will begin interviews regarding the gun law violation on and after 2/22/71, UACB.

The letter is as follows:

[REDACTED]

and to whoever else is concerned:

"This is to officially let it be known that the organization which used to be called the Richmond Information Center has officially purged itself of the Black Panther Party.

"For over five months the brothers and sisters and I here in Richmond have been struggling to establish a party chapter and bring the true revolutionary doctrine of the party to the people. In order to do this, it was necessary to call upon you for help. Sometimes you would help and sometimes you couldn't because of other pressing matters, according to you. Well, you're all full of bullshit.

"When you called on us for help, we did our part in the true revolutionary spirit. You needed guns, we supplied guns. You needed security guards, we supplied them. You needed money and we went out of our way to get it to you. But when we needed

"speakers, what did we get, nothin. When we needed papers, what did we get, nothin. When we needed answers, what did we get, nothin or bad advice. When we tried to get answers from National, what did we get, nothin, or sometimes we would get a busy signal, probably because Huey was talking to that white bitch [REDACTED] who he has been fucking.

"So as far as Richmond is concerned, you and the party can go fuck yourselves.

"YOU ARE NOT WELCOME IN RICHMOND.

"/s/ [REDACTED] and  
the United Front".

The above proposed letter will not be sent without specific Bureau approval and, should it be sent, it will be typewritten with the exception of [REDACTED] signature, samples of which are in Richmond's possession.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/18/71

Airtel

To: SAC, Richmond (105-5096) **EX-111**

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 225  
REC 70

**COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)-  
DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS**

ReRHairtel 2/9/71.

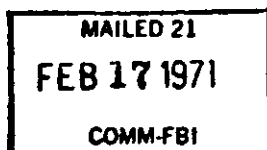
Your counterintelligence proposal aimed at creating dissension within the BPP on a national level by sending a letter to Washington, D. C., BPP chapter purported to be from [REDACTED] of Richmond is being considered. You will be advised if your proposal is to be used.

RNB:pjc  
(5)

## NOTE:

All offices with BPP activity were instructed to submit counterintelligence proposals designed to promote additional dissension within the BPP national and local organizations.

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97 FEB 22 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Alton \_\_\_\_\_  
Alvord \_\_\_\_\_  
Arl \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Cannon, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Crawford \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

165

FBI

Date: 2/10/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (157-721) (P)

SUBJECT: COINTELPRO-BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)-  
DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS  
BUDED: 2/10/71

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, 2/2/71; Bureau airtel to Alexandria, 11/10/70.

The following information concerns a proposal aimed at national dissension of the Black Panther Party (BPP):

The above referenced airtel 11/10/70 concerned itself with the article written by VICTOR REISEL concerning shipment of the BPP newspaper. As instructed in the above referenced airtel, Seattle mailed copies of this to various individuals on an anonymous basis.

On 1/25/71 [REDACTED], advised [REDACTED] that he had received earlier an anonymous letter which included the above referenced REISEL article. It is noted that [REDACTED] was one of the individuals the Seattle Office anonymously mailed this letter to. [REDACTED] stated that his first reaction upon receipt was that the article was sent to him by someone in his "shop". [REDACTED] stated that it was his personal feeling that if someone felt strongly about the distribution of the BPP newspaper, that they should approach him directly and identify themselves and make a request not to help in the distribution; then he would probably agree with this matter.

2-Bureau (RM)  
2-Seattle  
SER:md  
(4)

REC 70

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EX-111

15 FEB 1971

W. F. [REDACTED]  
RACIAL [REDACTED] SECT.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



SE 157-721

It is the opinion of the Seattle Division that in the normal investigation of the dissemination of Black Panther newspapers, various offices in the Bureau have developed contacts in individual field divisions within the appropriate airlines that the Panthers use. Based on this, Seattle suggests that all divisions who are involved in Black Panther newspaper distribution consider their contacts with the airlines and see if these individuals would be conducive to a more direct approach in their refusal of shipping the Black Panther newspapers because of the inflammatory information that the newspapers contain. Seattle feels that newspaper distribution is a main source of finances for the Black Panthers and that any disruption in the flow of their newspaper on a national basis could have an extreme effect on the Panthers. Seattle feels that if the Bureau indicates this program as being possibly effective and it is implemented that any new means that the Panthers develop in the shipment of newspapers also be examined for similar action.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 -  
1 -

2/18/71

*PA*  
Airtel

EX-111

To: SAC, Seattle (157-721)  
REC 70

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2231

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS

ReSEairtel 2/10/71.

Your counterintelligence proposal aimed at creating dissension within the BPP on a national level by contacting airlines to encourage a voluntary disruption in the flow of BPP newspaper shipments is being considered. You will be advised if your proposal is to be used.

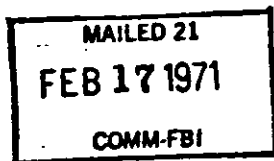
RNB:pjc *pjc*  
(5)

## NOTE:

*ljr*  
All offices with BPP activity were instructed to submit counterintelligence proposals designed to promote additional dissension within the BPP national and local organizations.

*U*  
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*U*  
Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Brennan, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walter \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



9-7 FEB 22 1971 *ga*  
MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FBI

Date: 2/10/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-4054) (P)

RE: COINTELPRO  
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL MATTERS  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, et al, dated 2/2/71,  
entitled, "COINTELPRO, BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP), DISSENSION,  
RACIAL MATTERS, BUDED 2/10/71".

Per Bureau instructions in referenced airtel,  
Los Angeles submits the following, designed to foment  
dissension within the Los Angeles BPP.

Since [REDACTED] expulsion from  
the BPP, his brother, [REDACTED] has indicated an  
inclination to write letters condemning the Party and  
even visit Party leaders, including [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] to chastise them for wantonly  
abandoning [REDACTED] at a time of financial and legal need.  
[REDACTED] who has been targeted by the Los Angeles  
Division as a possible key to convince [REDACTED] to talk  
freely to the FBI re his involvement with the BPP, is  
personally acquainted with [REDACTED] BPP Deputy  
Minister of Information, and other Panther leaders. Though  
there is no indication they would consider doing so, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] as stated he is sure he could convince BPP leaders to  
materially support [REDACTED] at this point when he has considerable  
prosecution pending.

① - Bureau (AM-REGISTERED)  
② - Los Angeles  
RWH/gcw  
(4)

FEB 13 1971

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Sent

M

Per

RACIAL MATTERS  
169

Approved:

GPO : 1970 O - 692-725

LA 157-4054

As [REDACTED] demise from the BPP remains a topical subject within the Party, it is felt that any direct approach by [REDACTED] could antagonize existing disagreement between local Panthers regarding [REDACTED] expulsion. Provoking this controversial issue locally could serve to provoke further confrontation and hostility between those loyal to and opposed to [REDACTED]. Local provocation of this issue could incite hasty reaction from the egocentric HUEY NEWTON and other members of the BPP hierarchy and worsen morale within the organization.

In this respect, Los Angeles requests approval to discreetly encourage [REDACTED] to personally confront the Los Angeles BPP with the issue of [REDACTED] expulsion.

*Question this  
to him*

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

2/18/71

**Airtel**

To: SAC, Los Angeles (157-4054)

From: Director, FBI (100-448066) - 2232  
REC 70 EX 111

**COINTELPRO -  
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUPS  
RM - BPP**

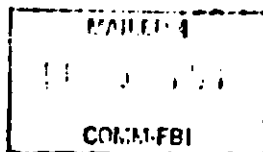
Reurairtel 2/10/71.

Referenced airtel requests approval to discreetly encourage [REDACTED] to personally confront the Los Angeles Black Panther Party (BPP) concerning the expulsion of his brother [REDACTED] BPP leader now in jail.

While there may be definite merit in our continuing contacts with [REDACTED] and receiving information volunteered by him concerning his brother and others in the BPP, there should be no effort as suggested to encourage [REDACTED] to personally confront the Los Angeles BPP with issue of [REDACTED] expulsion. Bureau feels that apparent close relationship and concern of [REDACTED] about his brother might possibly result in embarrassment to the Bureau.

Bureau suggests for your consideration to achieve the same desired action by [REDACTED] the sending of an anonymous note to him apparently from a Panther follower of [REDACTED] If such a suggestion is feasible, submit your recommendations to Bureau concerning same.

JFM:kdf  
(4)



SEE NOTE PAGE 2

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Herman, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

97 FEB 22 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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171

**Airtel to Los Angeles**

**Re: Cointelpro - Black Nationalist Hate Groups**

**100-448006**

**NOTE:**

In connection with our current efforts to foment dissension within the Los Angeles BPP, Los Angeles has advised that since [REDACTED] expulsion from the Party, [REDACTED] has indicated an inclination to write letters condemning the Party and even visit certain leaders to chastise them for wantonly abandoning [REDACTED] at time of financial and legal need. While such action may provide the desired counterintelligence action, there should be no connection with Bureau involvement in same since it may embarrassingly reveal Bureau's interest and involvement in such action.

FBI

Date: 2/2/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P\*)

O Counterintelligence Group, P.O. Box 1000

COINTELPRO-BLACK EXTREMISTS - *Black & white*  
RACIAL MATTERS

ReWFOairtel 1/11/71 and Buairtel 1/19/71.

On 1/29/71, the fictitiously signed letter previously approved by the Bureau was mailed by WFO to 50 colleges and universities in the Western United States.

Care was taken to insure that mailing could not be traced to the Bureau. The Albuquerque, Denver, San Antonio, San Diego, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle, Portland and Sacramento Offices are requested to remain alert for any information from sources in Black Student Unions or from sources in colleges or universities in their areas concerning any positive results obtained from this letter.

For the information of above offices, the letter castigated the Black Panther Party for the manner in which the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention was handled and stated that the BPP had betrayed black people and the movement to the honkie and white liberal money.

The names of colleges and universities receiving copies of this letter are being maintained in WFO files.

- 2 - Bureau *100-1082*  
 1 - Albuquerque (Info)(RM)(AM)  
 1 - Denver (Info)(RM)(AM)  
 1 - Los Angeles (Info)(RM)(AM)  
 1 - Portland (Info)(RM)(AM)  
 1 - Sacramento (Info)(RM)(AM)

17 FEB 3 1971

- 1 - San Antonio (Info)(RM)(AM)  
 1 - San Diego (Info)(RM)(AM)  
 1 - San Francisco (Info)(RM)(AM)  
 1 - Seattle (Info)(RM)(AM)

1 - WFO

HGE:tdl

Approved: *R. S. K. B.*

(17)

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

RACIAL INT. SECT.  
Be

AIRTEL

173

FBI

Date: 2/8/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL - REGISTERED

Via \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SACRAMENTO (100-894)(P)

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY (BPP) - DISSENSION

RM

BUDED: 2/10/71

ReBuairtel, 2/2/71.

The following proposal is aimed at local  
dissension:

Through information recently received from [redacted] indications are that individuals connected with the Oak Park Community Center in Sacramento have been in contact with the San Francisco Bay area headquarters of the BPP and the Bobby Seale Community Center. Even though BPP members in Sacramento do not appear to be connected with the Oak Park Community Center, individuals who are connected with it would seem to be in sympathy with the BPP because they appear to be getting guidance from the BPP in Oakland concerning a free breakfast program in Sacramento, the "Oak Park Breakfast Program". This program is sponsored by the following:

② Bureau (RM)

1 - Sacramento

GMS:epg

(4)

1 - San Francisco (157-601) (RM)

100-448006-2234

EX-104

19  
10 FEB 11 1971ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

RACIAL CT. SECT

174



SC 100-894

Oak Park Community Center  
BSU - Sacramento City College  
BSU - Sacramento State College  
BSU - Consumnes River Community College  
Walk for Development  
Women's Civic Improvement Center  
Lutheran Social Services Auxiliary  
Immaculate Conception Church  
Oak Park United Methodist Church  
First English Lutheran Church  
YMCA Outreach

Sacramento suggests the following anonymous letter  
be sent to the sponsors of the Oak Park Breakfast Program:

"To Whom It May Concern:

"Information has recently come to my attention indicating that individuals connected with the Oak Park Community Center are closely connected with the Black Panther Party in the San Francisco Bay area.

"This is being brought to your attention because I don't think it proper to have Panthers connected with a breakfast program for our kids.

"/s/ A Concerned Citizen

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/18/71

Airtel

1 -  
1 -  
1 -  
1 -

To: SACs, Sacramento (100-894)  
San Francisco EX-104

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2231

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
DISSEMINATION  
RACIAL MATTERS

ReSCairtel 2/8/71.

With respect to plan outlined in referenced airtel, SC  
insert the following paragraph between your first and second  
pages:

"This is unbelievable and frightening. I'm  
enclosing a copy of the January 30th issue of "The Black  
Panther" newspaper. On page 7 is an article on Organizing  
Self-Defense Groups which calls for direct attacks against  
the police, the use of incendiaries and explosives, sabotage,  
attacks at will, and shows how to use and maintain all kinds  
of weapons."

With this letter enclose a copy of that 1/30/71  
BPP newspaper and mail to each sponsor.

It is believed enclosing newspaper will be most  
effective to achieve desired result.

San Francisco promptly furnish 15 copies of the  
newspaper to Sacramento for intended purpose. If such  
copies not available, advise Sacramento in which case  
Sacramento will mail letter without newspaper enclosure.

Sacramento insure that the letter and newspaper  
cannot be traced to Bureau.

Advise Bureau of any positive results.

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OTHERWISE.

JFM:pjc  
(9)

97 FEB 23 1971

SEE NOTE ON PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Herman, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

176

**Airtel to Sacramento and San Francisco**  
**Re: Cointelpro - Black Panther Party (BPP)**  
**Dissension**  
**100-448006**

**NOTE:**

Sacramento reported indications that individuals connected with Oak Park Community Center in Sacramento have been in contact with San Francisco BPP; that although BPP members in Sacramento do not appear to be connected with that center, individuals connected with the center would seem to be in sympathy with BPP since they appear to be getting BPP Oakland guidance concerning a free breakfast program in Sacramento sponsored by various civic, college, and religious groups. Sacramento proposed an anonymous letter to these sponsors in effect calling attention to possible Panther involvement in the program and not thinking it proper to have Panthers connected with such breakfast programs for children. Bureau suggested variation would strengthen attempt to discredit any such Panther influence and attempts.

F B I

Date: 2/10/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-1292) (P)

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
 DISSENSION  
 RACIAL MATTERS  
 (BUDED: 2/10/71)

ReBuairtel to Albany et al, 2/2/71.

The following proposal is aimed at causing dissension and consternation within the ranks of the WDC Chapter of the BPP and specifically attacks known weaknesses within the local structure.

It is suggested that WFO be granted authority to prepare a short anonymous letter addressed to the local chapter purporting to be from a recently released prisoner of the D.C. Jail. This letter couched in proper terminology would allege that [REDACTED] is a police informant and was observed during his recent incarceration to be cooperating with MPD officers.

By way of background, it has been previously alleged by local party members that [REDACTED] is an informant; however, this appears to have no basis in fact. On 2/7/71, [REDACTED] was arrested by MPD officers for causing a disturbance in front of

- ② - Bureau EX-104 REC-20, 100-448006 - 2235  
 2 - San Francisco (RM)(AM)  
 3 - WFO

(1-157-2825)

(1-100-45995)

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 OTHERWISE.

SPR:tdl  
 (7)

FEB 19 1971

AIRTEL

Approved: RJK/PA

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

178

the BPP Community Information Center, 1932 17th Street, N.W. [REDACTED] is a particularly vicious and belligerent individual who refused to talk to MPD officers and Bureau Agents who attempted to interview him while incarcerated.

This proposal is thought to be especially appropriate at this time because recent mass purges within the D.C. Chapter have left matters in a highly confused state and because the leadership qualities of [REDACTED] are highly questionable. For the most part, leadership of the D.C. Chapter is temporarily in the hands of five or six Panthers on loan from the Baltimore Chapter and these individuals are especially sensitive to informants within the ranks in view of recent occurrences in Baltimore.

REQUEST OF THE BUREAU

It is requested that WFO be granted authority to implement this proposal as set forth above.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Mr. A. B. Fulton  
1 - Mr. R. N. Byers

SAC, WFO (157-1292)

2/18/71

REC-20, EX-104

Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2235

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY -  
DISSENSION  
RM

ReWFOairtel 2/10/71.

Submit proposed anonymous letter to Bureau.  
Following receipt of same, consideration will be given  
to your recommendation set forth in referenced airtel.

1 - San Francisco

JOI:kdf

(8) *kdf*

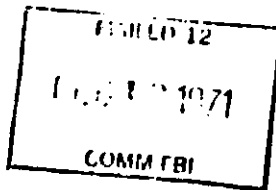
NOTE:

WFO did not submit the proposed letter, merely  
requested authority to prepare one.

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

*mem*

Tolson	_____
Sullivan	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Brennan, C.D.	_____
Callahan	_____
Casper	_____
Conrad	_____
Dalbey	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Tavel	_____
Walters	_____
Boyers	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____



97 FEB 23 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

180

2/8/71

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
FROM: SAC, COLUMBIA (157-4975) (P)  
RE: COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) -  
DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS  
Re Bureau airtel to Albany, ET AL, 2/2/71.

There is no officially recognized chapter of the Black Panther Party (BPP) presently operating in South Carolina. The Charleston, S. C. National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) group has no official recognition and has only five to six members. None of the members are official members of the BPP, and [REDACTED] is not authorized to represent the BPP in any capacity.

This group has received no Black Panther newspapers for about three months, has no office space, and no source of income. The group has been holding irregular meetings at [REDACTED] S. C., and has no plans to become involved in any acts of terrorism or violence. This group has no breakfast program for children, no liberation school or training school, and has no local support or influence in the Negro community.

[REDACTED]

② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Columbia  
CGS:dlk  
(1)

2236

181

CO 157-4975

This group at the present time has to be considered neutralized because it has no official RPP recognition and no operating base. It is felt that any counterintelligence programs or measures enacted would only tend to publicize the group, expand its base, and possibly draw sympathetic support from the presently non-supporting Negro community.

Therefore, no counterintelligence proposals are being made, since they are not deemed feasible and would not serve any productive purpose.



# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2-17-71

Airtel

1 -  
1 -  
1 -

To: SAC, Columbia (157-4975)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) *2236*

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS

ReCOairtel 2-8-71.

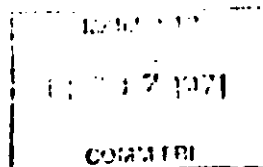
In view of the information set forth in referenced airtel indicating that the Charleston, South Carolina, National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) is having difficulty in communicating with and receiving any assistance from the national headquarters of the BPP, it would appear that this offers an excellent opportunity to promote not only dissension at the national headquarters, but also locally.

In this connection, you should consider the preparation of a letter over the signature of [redacted] leader of the local group to national headquarters, complaining in a most obnoxious manner of the fact that the local NCCF group has received no assistance from the national headquarters, that they are floundering locally because of the lack of any assistance including the fact that the Black Panther newspaper has not been forwarded.

Their whole failure should be blamed on the national headquarters with the letter ending along the lines that the local group is pulling away from the national group and they have no further plans to be associated with the national office of the BPP.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Brennan  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Walters  
Mr. Soyars  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

HAN:bee  
(6)



SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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MAIL ROOM ☒

Teletype Unit ☐

183

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Airtel to Columbia

Re: Cointelpro - Black Panther Party (BPP)  
Dissension

100-448006

This coupled with other counterintelligence undertakings along the same lines by other offices will serve to further disrupt the national office of the BPP as well as undoubtedly prevent any further assistance to the local group if the letter prepared is obnoxious enough to incur the anger of the national headquarters.

The Columbia Division should prepare such a letter and forward same to the Bureau for review and approval.

## NOTE:

By Bureau airtel to Albany, et al. dated 2-2-71, offices having BPP activity were requested to submit counterintelligence proposals that would tend to disrupt both the national headquarters and local chapters. Columbia indicated that their NCCF chapter in Charleston, South Carolina, was having difficulty in receiving any assistance from the national headquarters and for all intents and purposes was inactive. They are being instructed to make a counterintelligence proposal as indicated above to accomplish the further disruption of the national and local group.

FBI

Date: 2/8/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

FROM: SAC, SACRAMENTO (100-894)(P)

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY (BPP) - DISSENSION

RM

BUDED: 2/10/71

ReBuairtel to Albany, 2/2/71.

The following proposal is aimed at national  
dissension:

Information recently obtained from [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] indicates that one DUKE SANDERS from  
Sacramento has been accepted by and has been ordering  
newspapers from the BPP's distribution center. He has  
subsequently been identified as ANDREW HERBERT SAUNDERS,  
a white male, who wears an Afro hairdo.

Sacramento suggests placing a telephone call to  
the BPP Headquarters in Oakland using the name [REDACTED]  
and ordering 1,000 BPP newspapers to be picked up the  
following day. If this can be worked the first time, it  
is suggested it be tried again subsequently.

EX-104 Bureau (RM)

1 - San Francisco (157-601)(RM)

2 - Sacramento

1- 100-894

1- 100-1873 (SAUNDERS)

GMS:epg

(5)

REC-20, 100-442006-2237

10 FEB 11 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

airtel to Sacramento  
2/19/71 JFM:ac

185

2/17/71

BA  
7  
Airtel

1 - [REDACTED]  
1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, Sacramento (100-448006) (100-448006)

From: Director, FBI (100-448006) — 2237  
REC-20

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
DISSENSION  
RM

Reurairtel 2/8/71.

Bureau feels suggestion in referenced airtel concerning ordering of newspapers purportedly originating with [REDACTED] may have merit. It is requested, however, that additional details be submitted more fully outlining the mechanics of the plan. Appropriate consideration should be given to the amount requested so that it may not be a tip-off requiring a check by BPP for veracity.

JFM:sac  
(5) *WBC*

NOTE:

*life*  
Information obtained from our sensitive source coverage on San Francisco BPP headquarters indicated one [REDACTED] has been accepted for ordering of newspapers from BPP. Sacramento suggested a spurious telephone order of 1,000 newspapers for [REDACTED] to be picked up the following day as a means of disruption and creating further dissension at headquarters. Since the plan may be used again, additional details are necessary to analyze its success potential.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Wrenn, C.D. \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Dalbey \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Soyars \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

97 FEB 23 1971  
*WBC*

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

*he* *JK*  
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186

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

5010-106

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan

1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr

DATE: 1/29/71

FROM : G. C. Moore

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. J. J. Casper

1 - Mr. G. C. Moore

1 - [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS

1 - Mr. A. B. Fulton

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Walters \_\_\_\_\_  
Woyne \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

To recommend that the attached airtel be sent to all offices conducting investigations of the BPP with instructions for intensifying our counterintelligence program against the BPP to fully exploit increasing dissension within that organization and among its leaders.

Current evidence indicates BPP is experiencing increasing amount of dissension causing serious morale problem and a strained relationship among members of its hierarchy. Primary cause of these internal problems is dictatorial and irrational attitude of BPP leader Huey P. Newton. His extreme sensitivity to any criticism and jealousy of other top Panthers have recently led to his capricious expulsion of dedicated Panthers. Based on the above we have intensified our counterintelligence activity in selected offices to further disrupt and aggravate this situation and our efforts are undoubtedly responsible for some of the Panthers' current problems.

In view of this widespread dissension coupled with financial problems currently being experienced by BPP it is imperative we strike now and fully exploit this development. We should further intensify on a large scale the implementation of imaginative counterintelligence proposals aimed at increasing overall Panther internal problems, widening strained relations between its leaders and neutralizing the growth and effectiveness of this cancerous organization. Accordingly, attached airtel is being sent to all pertinent offices requesting timely suggestions for disruptive counterintelligence proposals against the BPP on both local and national level. All proposals to be approved by Bureau before implementation.

Enclosure

REC-65

EX-114

ABF:dr1 (8)

CONTINUED - OVER

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OTHERWISE

*G. C. Moore*

*[Handwritten signature]*

227

187

Memorandum to Mr. C. D. Brennan  
Re: Counterintelligence Program  
Black Panther Party (BPP) - Dissension

ACTION:

If approved, the attached airtel in line with the above will be sent to all offices conducting active investigation of the BPP.

1/10/71

V.C.B.

A  
C/D

OK

H

✓

A

W.B.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 2/17/71

FROM : SAC, ALEXANDRIA (157-38) -P\*-  
*DM*

SUBJECT: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE MEASURES  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel to Albany, 3/4/68, and  
Alexandria letter to the Bureau, 11/30/70.

During the past three-month period, the  
Alexandria Division has not had any racial disturbances,  
and no black extremist groups have chapters operating  
in the Alexandria Division. No counterintelligence  
programs currently are in effect because of this lack  
of activity.

Alexandria will remain alert for any black  
nationalist activity and will institute appropriate  
measures where called for.

- ② - Bureau (By Courier)  
2 - Alexandria

JHL:sw

(4)

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REC-57  
EX-104

6 FEB 18 1971

RACIAL INT. SECT.

62 MAR 3 1971



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

189

FBI

Date: 2/10/71

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)  
 FROM: SAC, PITTSBURGH (100-15780) (P)  
 SUBJECT: COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
 (BPP) - DISSENSION  
 RACIAL MATTERS

Re Bureau airtel dated 2/2/71, which instructed various offices to submit counterintelligence proposals.

It has held no classes, issued no literature, or engaged in any other activity in the recent past.

She also said she has not been able to conduct any activity for the NCCF.

It is also noted that information has been received that [redacted] was recently arrested for a narcotics violation by Pittsburgh Police and court action is pending in this matter.

The 9/12/70 issue of "The Black Panther," contains an expulsion notice of VERA ENGLISH and JOHN FAIRNOT for "blowing their cool" in Pittsburgh.

2 - Bureau (RM)  
 2 - Pittsburgh

LMC/map  
 (4)

REC-33

EX-117

FEB 15 1971

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RACIAL INT. SECT.

190

Antel. to PC  
 2-18-71 WMA:Box

cc 800  
 950



To capitalize on dissension within the BPP nationally, and the inactivity locally, Pittsburgh recommends that the following hand printed note be sent to the address of "The Black Panther:"

"You pigs kicked out two people for being uptight and sick but your leader here now is a f----- up with drugs her and her brother. She is the ones that sick and your the ones that's pigs."

This letter will be prepared on paper devoid of markings and will contain misspellings and poor punctuation. It is believed that such a letter may tend to cause suspicion on [REDACTED] and doubt on her ability to function as a leader of the BPP here.

Referenced Bureau airtel instructed that at least two counterintelligence proposals should be submitted in separate airtels. Inasmuch as the local branch is not presently active, only one proposal is being submitted at this time. This office will remain alert to any possibility of creating further disruption in the BPP in Pittsburgh and to prevent the group from becoming reorganized here.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

2/18/71

SA  
55  
Airtel

1  
1

To: SAC, Pittsburgh (100-15780)

REC-33  
From: Director, FBI (100-448006) - 2

COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
DISSENSION  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reurairtel 2/10/71.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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OTHERWISE

You are authorized to send the hand-printed note to the address of "The Black Panther" newspaper in San Francisco, California, containing text set forth in referenced airtel.

Insure paper and envelope utilized are plain and available for purchase through sales outlets in Pittsburgh. Insure this letter cannot be traced to Bureau or Bureau employees.

Bureau should be advised of any pertinent results.

WHA:sef (5)

MAILED 21  
FEB 18 1971

COMM-FBI

NOTE:

COINTELPRO is code word for counterintelligence program. Efforts have been made during past 8 months to establish a National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF), organizing arm of the BPP, in Pittsburgh. Group was once active with an office in Pittsburgh but organization is now foundering. [REDACTED] is current head of this group and her brother was recently arrested in Pittsburgh on a narcotics violation. Pittsburgh has with Bureau approval initiated

97 FEB 23 1971

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

192

Airtel to Pittsburgh

Re: COINTELPRO - BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

DISSENSION

100-448006

NOTE CONTINUED:

counterintelligence operations which have exposed the Panther's as violent and revolutionary; these operations have added to the problems of those trying to create a dynamic organization in Pittsburgh.

Pittsburgh recommended a hand-printed note in poor English be forwarded to office of BPP newspaper making indirect reference to expulsion of two Black Panthers from Pittsburgh NCCF in 9/70 and comparing them with current leader who has been ill and her brother who is a drug addict. Letter will indicate BPP expelled the wrong individuals. This could result in [REDACTED] being purged from the Party and the demise of NCCF in Pittsburgh as she is its only current source of leadership. There is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau.